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THE
L I F E
OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(Written by himself two years before his death.)

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in Lennoxshire, (commonly called the sheriffdom of Dumbarton), in Scotland, situated near the river or water of Blane, in the year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of February, in a country-town within that shire, of a family rather ancient than rich. His father died of the stone, in the flower of his age, whilst his grandfather was yet alive, by whose extravagance, the family, which was but low before, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother Agnes Heriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to mens and womens estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle James Heriot, perceiving his promising ingenuity in their own country schools, took him from thence, and sent him to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry; having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, because it was the only method of study propounded to him in his youth. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, was forced to go home to his friends. After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in taking care of his health; then he went into the army with some French auxiliaries, newly arrived in Scotland, to

learn the art military ; but that expedition proving fruitless, and those forces being reduced, by the deep snows of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness, as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring he was sent to St Andrew's, to hear the lectures of John Major ; who, though very old, read logic, or rather sophistry, in that university. The summer after he accompanied him into France ; and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase : he struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years ; and at last was admitted into the Barbaran College, where he was grammar-professor almost three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance ; so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards, having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the king, and made tutor to James his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy made by him, at leisure times, came into the hands of the Franciscans ; wherein he writes, that he was solicited in a dream by St Francis, to enter into his order. In this poem there were one or two passages that reflected on them very severely ; which those ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, took more heinously than men (having obtained such a vogue for piety among the vulgar), ought to have done, upon so small an occasion of offence. But finding no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the score of religion ; which was their common way of terrifying those they did not wish well to. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cause. In the mean time, the king, with Magdalen his wife, came from France, not without the resentment of the priesthood ; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been

bred up under her aunt the Queen of Navarre, should attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear vanished upon her death, which followed shortly after.

Next there arose jealousies at Court about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against the king; and in that matter, the king being persuaded the Franciscans dealt insincerely, he commanded Buchanan, who was then at court, (though he was ignorant of the disgusts betwixt him and that order), to write a satire upon them. He was loath to offend either of them; and therefore, though he made a poem, yet it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, wherein he satisfied neither party: not the king, who would have had a sharp and stinging invective; nor the fathers neither, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them but what was honourable. So that receiving a second command to write more pungently against them, he began that miscellany, which now bears the title of *The Franciscan*, and gave it to the king. But shortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at court, that Cardinal Beaton sought his life, and had offered the king a sum of money as a price for his head, he escaped out of prison, and fled to England. But there also things were in such an uncertainty, that the very same day, and almost with one and the same fire, the men of both factions (Protestants and Papists) were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, seconded by his ancient acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

As soon as he came to Paris, he found Cardinal Beaton, his bitter enemy, ambassador there; so that, to withdraw himself from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools, which were erected at the public cost. In that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published: but that which he wrote first, called the *Baptist*, was printed last, and next the *Medea* of Euripides. He wrote them in

compliance with the custom of the school, which was to have a play written once a-year, that the acting of them might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a false taste, and bring them back as much as possible to a just imitation of the ancients. This affair succeeding, even almost beyond his hope, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephtha and Alcestus ; because he thought they would fall under a severer scrutiny of the learned. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from trouble, being harassed between the menaces of the cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. For the cardinal had written letters to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him ; but, providentially, those letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends. However, the death of the King of Scots, and the plague, which then raged over all Aquitaine, dispelled that fear.

In the interim, an express came to Govean from the King of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men, learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues ; that they might teach the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which he was then building with a great deal of care and expense. Buchanan being addressed to, readily consented to go for one. For, whereas he saw that all Europe, besides, was either engaged in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, that one corner of the world was, in his opinion, likeliest to be free from tumults and combustions : and besides his companions in that journey were such, that they seemed rather his acquaintance and familiar friends, than strangers or aliens to him. For many of them had been his intimates for several years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholas Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Teyius, and Elias Vinetus. This was the reason that he did not only make one of their society, but also persuaded a brother of his, called Patrick, to do the same. And truly the matter succeeded excellently well at first, till, in the midst of the enterprise, An-

drew Govean was taken away by a sudden death, which proved very prejudicial to his companions. For, after his decease, all their enemies endeavoured at first to ensnare them by treachery, and soon after ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and instruments being great enemies to the accused, they laid hold of three of them, and put them in prison; whence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were called out to give in their answers; and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded to prison again; and yet no accuser did appear in court against them. As for Buchanan, they insulted most bitterly over him, as being a stranger; and knowing also, that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathise with his grief, or revenge the wrongs offered to him. The crime laid to his charge was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans; which he himself, before he went from France, took care to get excused to the king of Portugal; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was: for he had given but one copy of it to the king of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected his eating of flesh in Lent; though there is not a man in all Spain but uses the same liberty: besides, he had given some sly side-blows to the monks, which, however, nobody but a monk himself could well except against.

Moreover, they took it heinously ill, that, in a certain familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention made of the eucharist, he should affirm, that, in his judgment, Austin was more inclinable to the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other witnesses, (as, some years after, it came to his knowledge), viz. John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius of Sub-Alpine Liguria, had witnessed against him, that they had heard from divers creditable persons, that Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion.

But, to return to the matter: After the inquisitors had wearied both themselves and him for almost half a year, at

last, that they might not seem to have causelessly vexed a man of some name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, there to be more exactly disciplined and instructed by the monks, who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwise neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to form the principal part of David's Psalms into Latin verse. At last he was set at liberty; and, suing for a pass, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the king desired him to stay where he was, and allotted him a little sum for daily necessities and pocket-expences, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But he, tired out with delay, as being put off to no certain time, nor on any sure grounds of hope, and having got the opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon, was carried over into England. He made no long stay in that country, though fair offers were made him there; for he saw that all things were in a hurry and combustion, under a very young king; the nobles at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment, upon the account of their civil combustions. Whereupon he returned into France, about the time that the siege of Metz was raised. There he was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem concerning that siege; which he did, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loath to interfere with several of his acquaintance, and especially with Mellinus Sangelasius, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Cosse of Brescia, who then managed matters with very good success in the Gallic and Ligustic countries about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France, the space of five years, till the year of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixty; the greatest part of which time he spent in the study of the holy Scriptures;

that so he might be able to make a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and took up all the time of most of the men of those days. It is true, those disputes were silenced a little in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; so he returned thither, and became a member of the church of Scotland.

Some of his writings, in former times, being as it were redeemed from shipwreck, were by him collected and published: the rest, which are still scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he commits to the disposal of Providence.

Being at this time in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he still attends the education of James VI. king of Scotland, to whom he was appointed tutor in the year 1566, and quite broken with the infirmities of old age, he longs for the desired haven of his rest.

He departed this life, at Edinburgh, on the 28th day of September, in the year 1582.

To the preceding account of our author's life, it may not be improper to add, that Buchanan returned to Scotland in 1563, and joined the reformed church there. In the beginning of 1565, he went again to France, from whence he was recalled the year following, by Mary, Queen of Scots, who had fixed upon him to be preceptor to her son, when that prince should be of a proper age to be put under his care, and, in the mean time, made him Principal of St Leonard's College, in the University of St Andrew's, where he resided four years; but, upon the misfortunes of that Queen, he joined the party of the Earl of Murray, by whose orders he wrote his *Detection*, reflecting on the Queen's character and conduct. He was, by

the states of the kingdom, appointed preceptor to the young King James VI. He employed the last twelve or thirteen years of his life in writing the history of his country, in which he happily united the force and brevity of Sallust with the perspicuity and elegance of Livy.

The Popish writers, from resentment of the part he acted with regard to Mary Queen of Scots, represent him in the most odious colours : but Sir James Melvill, who was of the opposite party to him, and therefore cannot be supposed to be partial in his favour, tells us, that Buchanan “ was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him ; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesy, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing, at all occasions, moralities, short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused ; and so facile that he was led by every company that he haunted ; which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him ; for he was become careless, following, in many things, the vulgar opinion ; for he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him ; which was his greatest fault.”

Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, says of him, That though he had been obliged to teach school in exile for almost twenty years, yet the greatness of his mind was not depressed by that mean employment. In his writings there appear not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind and a quickness of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them : but his style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems, in which he shews how well he could imitate all the Roman poets in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original), that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern writers.

His works are, 1. *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. 2. *De jure regni apud Scotos dialogus*. 3. *Detectio, contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*. 4. *Actio contra eandem*. 5. *Chamaeleon, against the Laird of Lidingtone*. 6. *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*. 7. *Quatuor tragediæ, viz. Jephthes, Baptistes, Medea et Alcestes*. 8. *Varia Poemata, viz. Franciscanus et Fratres, Elegiarum, lib. I. Silvarum, lib. I. Hendecasyllabon, lib. I. Iambon, lib. I. Epigrammatum, lib. III. Miscellaneorum, lib. I. De Sphæra, lib. V. et Satira in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem, &c.*

THE

NAMES OF THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

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|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| 1. FERGUS I. | 38. Fethelmachus | 77. Indulphus |
| 2. Feritharis | 39. Eugenius I. | 78. Duffus |
| 3. Manus | 40. Fergus II. | 79. Culenus |
| 4. Dornadilla | 41. Eugenius II. | 80. Kenneth III. |
| 5. Nothatus | 42. Dongardus | 81. Constantine IV. |
| 6. Reutherus | 43. Constantine I. | surnamed The |
| 7. Reutha | 44. Congallus | Bald |
| 8. Thereus | 45. Goranus | 82. Grimus |
| 9. Josina | 46. Eugenius III. | 83. Malcolm II. |
| 10. Finnanus | 47. Convallus | 84. Duncan I. |
| 11. Durstus | 48. Kinnatellus | 85. Macbeth |
| 12. Evenus I. | 49. Aidanus | 86. Malcolm III. |
| 13. Gillus, (base
born) | 50. Kenneth I. | 87. Donald Banus
VII. |
| 14. Evenus II. | 51. Eugenius IV. | 88. Duncan II. |
| 15. Ederus | 52. Ferchard I. | 89. Edgar |
| 16. Evenus III. | 53. Donald IV. | 90. Alexander I. |
| 17. Metellanus | 54. Ferchard II. | surnamed The |
| 18. Caratacus | 55. Malduinus | Sharp |
| 19. Corbred I. | 56. Eugenius V. | 91. David I. |
| 20. Dardanus | 57. Eugenius VI. | 92. Malcolm IV. |
| 21. Corbred II. sur-
named Galdus | 58. Amberkelethus | 93. William |
| 22. Luctacus | 59. Eugenius VII. | 94. Alexander II. |
| 23. Mogaldus | 60. Murdacus | 95. Alexander III. |
| 24. Conarus | 61. Etfinus | 96. John Baliol |
| 25. Ethodius I. | 62. Eugenius VIII. | 97. Robert Bruce |
| 26. Satrael | 63. Fergus III. | 98. David II. |
| 27. Donald I. | 64. Solvathius | 99. Edward Baliol |
| 28. Ethodius II. | 65. Achaius | 100. Robert II. |
| 29. Athirco | 66. Congallus II. | 101. Robert III. |
| 30. Nathalocus | 67. Dongallus | 102. James I. |
| 31. Findochus | 68. Alpinus | 103. James II. |
| 32. Donald II. | 69. Kenneth II. | 104. James III. |
| 33. Donald III. | 70. Donald V. | 105. James IV. |
| 34. Crathilinthus | 71. Constantine II. | 106. James V. |
| 35. Fincormachus | 72. Ethus | 107. †Henry Stuart
and Mary Stu-
art |
| 36. Romachus | 73. Gregory | 108. James VI. |
| 37. Angusianus | 74. Donald VI. | |
| | 75. Constantine III. | |
| | 76. Malcolm I. | |

† The name of Mary is set before Henry in the body of this history; because she reigned several years before her marriage with Henry, and also after his decease.

THE

HISTORY

or

SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS SEVERAL SITUATIONS,
NATURE OF ITS SOIL, CLIMATE, &c.

WHEN I first determin'd to write the famous achievements of our ancestors, and after I had purged them from the mixture of vain fables, to vindicate them from oblivion; I thought it conducive to my purpose, to recite, from the very beginning, (as much as so long a distance of time, and first the scarcity, then the loss of learned monuments, would permit), what the situation of the countries were; what was the nature of the soil and air; what were the ancient names and manners, and who were the first inhabitants of the islands called of old *Brittany*; which are extended between Spain and Germany, in a long tract of land near the coast of France. Albion and Ireland, two of them, do far exceed the rest in extent; and therefore, of these two I shall speak first; afterwards, as conveniency serves, I will explain the site and the names of the rest.

The first for extent, is Albion ; which now alone retains the name of *Britain*, formerly common to them all. Concerning its breadth and length, other writers do, in effect, agree with Cæsar ; namely, that the length of it from north to south, is 800 miles ; and the breadth, where it is widest, which is, (as some think,) where it looks towards France ; or, (as others say,) from the point of St David's in South Wales to Yarmouth in Norfolk, almost 200 miles ; from thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the borders of Scotland. The Romans, who as yet knew not the farthest parts thereof, believed the island to be triangular ; but when they proceeded a little farther, they found, that, beyond Adrian's wall, it extended itself broader by degrees, and ran out far eastward. This, in brief, concerning its dimensions.

The climate of Britain is more temperate than that of France, as Cæsar affirms ; but the climate of Ireland is milder than them both. The air, therefore, is seldom clear, but commonly darkened with thick mists ; the winters are mild enough, rather rainy than snowy. The soil brings forth corn plentifully ; and, besides corn, it produceth all sorts of metals. It is also very fruitful in breeds of cattle. They who inhabit the extreme parts of the island, which are more infested with cold, eat bread made of oatmeal ; and, for drink, they use a wine or strong liquor made of damaged corn : some boil whey, and keep it in hogsheads under ground for some months, which is counted by many of them, not only a wholesome, but a very pleasant drink. There was no controversy concerning the name of *Britain* among the ancients, except that the Greeks called it *Brettania*, the Latins, *Brittania*. Other nations, in their appellation of it, used one or other of these names, as they saw fit. But of late, some men have started up, not so much desirous of truth as of contention, who hoped to make themselves

famous, by carping at other eminent persons : for they imagined, that they must needs obtain a great opinion of learning amongst the vulgar, who dared to enter the lists against, and to combat with all antiquity ; and though the dispute was about a thing of no great consequence, yet, because it concerned the very name of their country, they thought it worth contending for with all their might, as if the ancient glory of the whole nation had lain at stake. They say, that three ancient names of the island have their several assertors, viz. *Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*. Llud * contends with might and main for *Prudania* ; Thomas Elliot, a British knight, for *Prytaneia*, but very modestly. Almost all other nations do retain the name of *Britain*.

Llud, to maintain his assertion for *Prudania*, useth the authority of a certain old paper-fragment, which rust, mouldiness, and length of time, and nothing else, have almost made sacred with him. Though he counts that proof firm enough of itself, yet he strengthens it by etymology ; by the verses of the old Bards ; by the country dialect ; and by the venerable rust of antiquity. But, in the first place, I ask him, whence came that fragment, on which he lays the stress and weight of his cause ? when was it writ ? who was the author of it ? or what says it that makes for his assertion ? Concerning the name, the time, the author, all these, (he may perhaps allege,) are uncertain, which proves, he thinks, the antiquity thereof. An excellent proof indeed ! where the certainty, credit, and authority of the testimony doth depend on ignorance, meanness, and obscurity ; and that which is made use of to explain the matter in controversy, hath more intricacy and weakness in it, than the cause which it is brought to defend. Who is the witness in this case ? I know not, (says he). What is it that he of-

* Llud, or Lloyd, and Elliot, two writers of British antiquities, in Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth's reigns.

fers for evidence? I know not that neither, (replies he); but this I have heard, that in that fragment it is called *Prudania*. But, prithee, tell me what is that *Prudania*? is it a mountain, or a river? a village, or a town? a man, or a woman? Here I am posed too, (says he); but I conjecture that Britain is signified by that name. Well, then, let *Prudania* signify Britain; yet what doth this your fragment make for you? I would ask you this question, Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true name of the island, or doth not rather upbraid their ignorance who ascribe that false name to it? Here, too, I am nonplussed (says Llod); but this I am certain of, that here is the sound of a British word; and the force of the British language doth appear, even in the very etymology thereof. For *Prudania* is as it were *Prudcania*, which is, in British, excellent beauty, from *Pryd*, signifying beauty, and *cam*, white; the asperity of the word being somewhat mollified. But for that reason it should be called *Prudcamia*, not *Prudania*; which words the Bards do pronounce *Pruda*, in their country-speech. I shall not here speak, how trivial, deceitful, and often times ridiculous, this inquiry after the original of words is. I pass by *Varro*, and other learned men, who have been often laughed at upon this account. I omit also the whole *Cratylus* of Plato; wherein he is guilty of the same fault. I will only affirm this, that, before impartial judges, a man may more easily prove, that the word *Cambri* is derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a dog and a brute, than you shall persuade me, that *Prudania* comes from *Prudcamia*. For by this means you may derive *quidlibet* è *quolibet*, as you please. And, indeed, Llod himself shews, what little confidence he puts in his own proofs, when he calls in the Bards to his aid; a race of men, I grant indeed, very ancient, but yet antiquity affirms they committed nothing

to writing. But of these I shall speak more elsewhere.

Let us now come to the last refuge of Llud. Cæsar, says he, who first mentioned the name of this island in Latin, called it *Britain*; whose steps almost all Latin writers having trode in, did not change the said name. Here Llud begins with a notorious mistake, that Cæsar was the first of the Latins who called it by the name of Britain; for, before ever Cæsar was born, Lucretius makes mention of Britain; and Aristotle, amongst the Greeks, long before him; and Propertius, not long after Cæsar, when he saith,

Cogor et in tabula pictos ediscere mundos.

“Our force of art in maps the globe describes,

“Where painted nations meet our wond’ring eyes;”

shews thereby, that, in his age, the description of the world in maps, was wont to be fastened to the walls of men’s houses. I would ask yourself, Sir, Do you indeed think, that Cæsar, who was so well skilled in all sorts of learning, did never see or read a description of the world? Or, can you be persuaded, that the island of Britain alone, the greatest in the whole world, then so famous both in the Latin and Greek monuments, was omitted in those maps? or, do you believe, that Cæsar, who was so inquisitive to know the affairs of Britain, as, what men did inhabit that country then, and before his time; what animals and plants did grow, or were bred therein; what were the laws and customs of the country; do you, I say, believe, that he, who had been so solicitous about those things, would have neglected to set down the name of the whole island? or, that he, who, with so great faithfulness and diligence, gave right names to the cities of the Gauls, would deprive the Britons of their ancient glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason at all, why Llud should think that the old name of the island was *Prudania*, (for he

values himself much on the account of this title), unless words do also contract authority from the rust of a worm-eaten paper. This is all I have to say to Llud at present, who, by home-bred witnesses, and by his own dreams together, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the current verdict of all the learned men that now are, or ever have been in the world.

As for Sir Thomas Elliot, my task will be easier with him. He, being induced not only by probable conjectures, but also by some authors, and those not obscure, thinks, that the island was sometimes called *Prytaneia*. He judged it not improbable, that an island abounding with plenty of all things, not only for the necessities, but even the very ornaments of life, should be so called. In this case, if we should weigh the reason of names, Sicily rather deserves the title of *Prytaneia*, and so do some other islands also; which go as far beyond Britain in the fruitfulness of soil, as they fall short of it in the extent of territory. Besides, in those authors, by whose testimony the name *Prytaneia* is confirmed, it easily appears, that the orthography is vitiated. As for Stephanus, there is the highest inconstancy in him. In the word *Albion*, he says, that that is the island of Brettain, following Martian therein, as he alleges. In the words *Juvernæ* and *Juverna*, it is writ *Prætanica*. Elsewhere, says he, in the ocean are the Brettish islands, whose inhabitants are called Brettains; but that Martian and Ptolemy, in these words, make *P* the first letter. If any one compare the places, without doubt, he will find, that the writing is corrupted, and that Stephanus himself was of opinion, that *Bretania* ought to be writ by *B* the first letter, and two *TT*.

Elliot, I believe, was not ignorant of this, and, therefore, being content to advertise his reader, as much as was needful, what things men, greedy of praise, will scrape together for the ostentation of

their learning, he leaves the matter in dispute entirely to his judgment. But Llud, that you may know his disposition more fully, of the three names of this large island, approves that most which hath the fewest assertors, viz. *Prudania*; next to that he commends *Brytaneia*. But he rejects *Britannia*, which name was now grown famous through all nations, and celebrated both in Greek and Latin monuments (as Pliny affirms), as corrupted in tract of time, and fixed by Julius Cæsar; whom he falsely affirms (as hath been said) to have first mentioned the name of *Britannia* in Latin, and that he drew others with him into the same error. But I can prove the antiquity of the word *Britannia*, by many clear and ample testimonies, if that were the matter in dispute; and that it was not corrupted by Cæsar, but delivered down to us, pure from hand to hand, by our ancestors, save that the ancients were wont to write it with a double *TT*, (*Brittania*): And therefore it was, as I suppose, that Lucretius made the first syllable of the word *Britain* long in verse; but now the Latins leave out one *T*, which is still retained in the word *Britto*. The Greeks, who write *Brettania*, come nearest to the pronunciation of the country speech, which the Britons themselves, and all their neighbours, do yet retain. For the neighbouring Gauls call all British women *Brettæ*; and *Bretter*, with them, is to speak *British*: and a promontory in Gascoigne is commonly called *Cape Breton*; and both sorts of Scots, i. e. both the Albanians and the Hibernians, speak so too; only with this difference, that they who delight in the German dialect, do sometimes use the transposition of letters and pronounce *Berton* for *Breton*. But Dionysius Afer in that verse,

Ἰνδία κρύσταλινος ψυχρὸς ποταμός ἐστιν Βρετανοί,

mentioning the Britains to inhabit near the cold

surges of the ocean, hath used a poetical licence in leaving one τ out of the word $\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, as he hath also done in the word $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ for $\Sigma\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, by an elision of the letter ς . Here the consent of so many nations, almost from their originals, both among themselves, and with the ancients, as well Greeks as Latins, will have greater weight with me, than all the hodge-podge trash of Llud, raked by him out of the dunghill, collections good for nothing but to be laughed at, and to disparage the collector; and though they have a confident patron, to urge them to give in a false testimony against antiquity, yet to make their awkward appearance they have not dared. Let him shew, if he can, what author ever wrote *Prudania* before Aristotle: let him turn and wind himself as he pleases, he will never be able to do it; seeing, some ages after Aristotle, it is certain, that the Bards committed nothing to writing. Away, then, with that (shall I say?) vain-glorious, or may I not rather say senseless, boast of antiquity, of which no argument, no footstep, no, nor the least print of any footstep, can be found?

Amidst this diversity of opinions, and the various modes and customs of speech, Llud thinks it most advisable always to look to antiquity, and the country-manner of speech, as a pole-star; and, by that to direct the whole course of his language. For my part, I would not much dissent from him, if that which was in ancient use, and therefore thought certain, could be always observed and kept. But there are several reasons why that cannot be done.

First, Because, in every language, it is very difficult to find out the original of words; and therefore it is more advisable, in this case, to follow the custom of the learned, than, by a vain and ridiculous labour, always to search after originals, as after the fountain of Nilus; especially since the original of words depends not on the judgment of the wiser sort, but on the pleasure of the vulgar; who, for the most

part, are rude and unpolished ; and therefore anxiously to inquire after reason, is a piece of needless curiosity ; and if you should find it out, it would not be worth your labour. For, as in the generation of all other things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or else are invented by men for the use of life, the first embryos are very imperfect, and come forth less acceptable, not only for use, but even for sight ; yet afterward, by culture, they are improved, and are made amiable by good management : it is so in language, which, taking its first rise from men rude and unpolite, came forth harsh, rugged, and uncouth ; until, by use, it gradually put off its natural horror and unpleasantness, becoming more gentle and sweeter to the ear, and more easily insinuating itself into the minds of men. And therefore, in this case (if any) I think something is to be indulged to the custom of men more polite than others ; and that such a pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to men's manners, is not to be despised. But if any one is born under such an ill constellation, that he rather affects the language of Cato and Ennius, than of Cicero and Terence ; and when corn is found out, yet had rather feed on mast still, my vote is, *Much good may it do him.* But this our present dispute is not concerning the purity and elegancy of the Latin tongue ; for it does not come within the compass of it, to know how the Britons of former ages sounded their letters or their words. My whole endeavour is, to shew how the Latins may learn the British, not how the British may learn the Latin pronunciation. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the gibberish of the old Britons, than forget that little of the Latin tongue, which I imbibed with great pains when I was a child. And I have no other reason for lessening my disgust, when I find the ancient Scottish language dying away by degrees, but this one consideration, which I own is very pleasing to me, and

it is this: That while we banish those wild barbarous sounds, we borrow harmonious ones from the Latin, and substitute them in their room. And in this transmigration of languages, if one must needs yield to another, good now, of the two, let us pass from rusticity and barbarism, to culture and humanity; and, by our choice and judgment, let us put off that uncouthness which accrued to us by the infelicity of our birth. And if our pains and industry can avail any thing in this case, let us bestow them all this way, viz. To polish, as much as we can, the Greek and Latin tongues, which the better part of the world hath publicly received; and, if there be any solecisms or flaws sticking thereto, from the contagion of barbarous languages, let us do what we can to purge them away.

Besides, this over-anxious diligence about foreign names, especially in transferring them into another language, can never be observed, neither is it expedient that it should: for what language is there, which hath not some letters and sounds, which cannot fully be expressed by the characters of another tongue? What nation, besides the German, can pronounce the letter *W*? Who can give that sound to the letters *D. G. P. T. X.* and *Z.* in Latin, which the Spaniards, the Britons, and part of the Scots, do?

Because of this absurdity of sound, as I suppose, it is, that Pliny, reckoning up the cities of Spain, denies that some of them can be well pronounced in the Latin tongue. Some he calls ignoble, and of barbarous appellation; others, he says, cannot be so much as named without grating the ear. What, I beseech you, would Llud do in this case, if he were to write the history of Britain in Latin? With all his stock of rusty barbarism, I believe he would scarce know how to pronounce the genuine names of the Britons. For seeing he vexes himself so much how he should write Llud, either *Lhuyd*, or *Lhud*, or else bare *Ludd*, none of which can be written, pronoun-

ced, or heard amongst Latinists, without regret: If he retains the true sound, he will make, not a Latin, but a semi-barbarous oration; but if he bend foreign words to the sound of the Latin, he will commit as great a trespass, as Cæsar is said to have done in the word *Britannus*. What, then, shall we do to please so captious and so morose a person as Llud? Shall we call the island *Prudamia*, rather than *Britannia*? Llud himself, who is so severe a censor of others, will not exact this of us; he will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Pruda*. But if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia* or *Brettaniam*, he will lay about him, and accuse him presently of violating sacred antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the ancient and sincere language, and of turning it into an effeminate and soft pronunciation, from a robust and masculine sound. What shall we do in this case? May we not take leave to brighten some expressions, and rescue them from the gloom of antiquity, by changing their air? Or, if we must not change, yet, pray, may we not polish some rough words, and soften them a little from their harshness and barbarity, that at least they may sound like the speech of men? We see our ancestors have done this in the words *Morini*, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorici*; so that if we cannot make those words free of old Rome, yet at least we may imitate the garb and similitude of the Latin in them. But I see Llud will not allow us that liberty. He calls us back to the august antiquity of the Prudany's, and forbids us to depart in the least from the Bards and Graybeards. But the ancient Greeks and Latins were never so strait-laced; for when the stiffness of their ancient speech began a little to remit, there was none among them who had rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the words which were substituted in their rooms; and they used a very great liberty in translating Latin words from Greek, and Greek from Latin. Who ever blamed

the Latins, for turning *Polydeuces* into *Pollex*, *Hercules* into *Hercules*, *Asclepius* into *Æsculapius*? Or, who hath reprov'd the Greeks for calling *Catullus*, *Catulus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, what did the Greeks do, in translating barbarous words into their own language? Did they ever make any scruple to turn *al*, a Punic termination, into *as*, in the end of words? If a man pronounce *Annibas* for *Annibal*, must he, forsooth, presently tread under foot the majesty of all history? Must he be said to corrupt the truth, or to do a notorious injury to the Punic language? See how the study of humanity and politeness, which was eminent amongst the ancient Saxons, and the Danes, who passed over later into Britain, differs from Lhud's uncouth and slovenly affectations. They being rude and ignorant of all learning, when they came to men that used a barbarous and broken kind of language, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their solecisms, that, on the contrary, when they had once tasted of the sweetness of the Latin tongue, they pared away much of the roughness which they brought upon it; they rendered some harsh words so smooth, as to make them less offensive to the ear, such as are *Oxonia* and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Raufchestria*, and many others, which Lhud himself does not pretend to contradict. And he allows himself the same liberty in many other words, though he is so severe and so obstinate a critic in this one word *Britannia*. But now he stiffly opposes the ancient custom of all nations, for a new, obscure, and uncertain word; lest, forsooth, the royal name of *Lhud*, descended from old Brennus, and kept as a Palladium to this very day, should be buried in oblivion. To prevent which, Lhud manages a contest against the general consent of mankind, the antiquity of time, and even against truth itself.

There is yet also another observation to be made

upon the word *Britannia*, that foreign writers make it the name of the whole island; but the Britons and English, who have written the British history, sometimes agree with foreign writers, in their appellation of it; and sometimes they call only that part of the island Britain, which was a Roman province, and that variously, too, as the event of war changed the borders; for sometimes they made the wall of Adrian, sometimes that of Severus, the limits of their empire; the rest, which were without those walls, they sometimes termed barbarous, sometimes outlandish people. Bede, in the beginning of his First Book, writes thus:—"Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to inhabit the north part of the island; for the Britons inhabited the south." He says also, chap. 34. "Aidan was king of the Scots, who inhabit Britain." And lib. 4. chap. 4. writing of the return of Colman out of England into Scotland, he says, "In the mean time, Colman, who was of Scotland, leaving Britain:" and elsewhere, "Then they began, for many days, to come from the country of Scotland into Britain." And farther, "Oswald was slain near the wall that the Romans had built from sea to sea, to defend Britain, and to repel the assaults of the barbarians." The same form of speech is found in the same author, lib. 2. chap. 9. Claudian doth not seem to be ignorant of this manner of speech, peculiar to the Britons, when he writes, that the Roman legion, which curbed the fierce Scot, lay between the Britons, *i. e.* opposite to the Scots, that it might cover the Britons from their fury, in the farthest part of England, and borders of Scotland. William of Malmsbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, none of the obscurest writers of British affairs, do often use this kind of speech, in whom a man may easily take notice, that that only is called *Britain*, which is contained within the wall of Severus. Though this matter be so clear in these writers, that no man can be ignorant of it,

yet it hath produced great mistakes amongst the writers of the next age, what some have affirmed in their works, *i. e.* That Alured, Athelstan, and some other of the Saxon kings, did sometimes reign over the whole island; when yet, it is clear, they never passed beyond the wall of Severus. For when they read, that they held the empire of all Britain, they presently thought, that they were masters of the island, and had it wholly in their own hands.

We may observe the same likewise from the constant way of using those names *Britannus* and *Britto*; for all the old Greek and Latin writers call the whole island *Britannia*, and all its inhabitants *Britains*, without making any distinction. The first, that I know, of the Romans, who called them *Brittons* was Martial, in that verse,

Quam veteres brachæ Brittonis pauperis.

“—The old trouses of Britain poor.”

The vulgar commonly call the inhabitants of the Gallic peninsula, *Britons*, though Gregory * Turo-nensis always calls it *Britain*, and its inhabitants *Britains*. The Romans do constantly call their provincials *Britains*, though their provincials themselves like the name of *Brittons* best. Both names have one *radix* and one original, *viz.* *Britannia*; and as they both spring from one and the self-same root, so they both signify one and the self-same thing:—and that the verses of Ausonius the poet do plainly shew.

† Silvius ille Bonus, qui carmina nostra lacessit,
Nostra magis meruit disticha Britto Bonus.

* Bishop of Tours.

† This epigram was made by the poet against one Silvius, sur-named *Bonus*, of Little Britain in France, against whom he had a pique (and, it seems, against the whole nation of the Britains, for his sake). He takes an occasion to jeer him from the ambiguity of his surname *Bonus*, which signifies also *good* in Latin, and (by the figure *Antiphrasis*) evil, as here sometimes it is taken. This author makes it a *dodecastich*; whereas latter interpreters

Silvius hic Bonus est. Quis Silvius? Iste Britannus.

Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est

Silvius iste Bonus fertur, ferturque Britannus:

Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum!

Nemo Bonus Britto est. Si simplex Silvius esse

Incipiat, simplex desinet esse Bonus.

Silvius hic Bonus est: sed Britto est Silvius idem.

Simplicior res est, credite, Britto malus.

Silvi, Britto, Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse

Ferris: nec se quit jungere Britto bono.

They who contend, that the Britons were a colony of the Gauls, do say, that Hercules begat a son on Celto, a Gallic virgin, called *Britannus*, from whom the nation of the Britons had their original. Pliny placeth this nation near to the Morini, the Atrebatas, and the Gessoriaci. Neither are there wanting some Greek grammarians to confirm it, as Suidas, and he who wrote the book called *Etymologicum Magnum*. C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus, seem to have been of the same opinion; and so do other Latin writers also, not unlearned, yet not so famous as those two. Besides, the religion, speech, institutions, and manners of some nations inhabiting near the Gallic sea, do evince the same thing; from whence the Britains were, in my opinion, transplanted by whole colonies, and the Morini by little and little quite extinguished. The word *Morinus* seems to derive its etymology from *More*, which, in the old Gallic tongue, signifies the sea. *Venta*, called in old Latin, *Venta Belgarum*, (because inhabited by the Gallo-Belgæ), i. e. Winchester; and *Icenium* derived from *Icium*: these names make it very pro-

have divided it into six distichs, (but all of one subject), according to the poet's mind, expressed in the first of them. They are not here quoted for the sarcasms contained therein, (and therefore are not here translated), but only to shew, that, in this poet's time, who lived under Gratian the Emperor, about anno Christi, 380, *Britto* and *Britannus* were terms synonymous.

* The printed book reads *Britto et homo*, which is scarce sense; and, therefore, *Vinetus* hath amended it, *Britto bono*.

bable, that their colonies transported with them into a foreign soil their own country terms in the place of a surname; and at their very entrance, meeting with the Britons, whom they acknowledged to be their offspring, they brought them home, and did, as it were, maintain them at their own houses. For *Morinus*, amongst the old Gauls, signifies *Marinus*; and *Moremarusa*, *Mare*, *Mortuum*: though Goropius hath almost stolen from us these two last names, whilst he is studious to extole his Aduatici beyond measure. Neither can the Aremorici, or Armoriei, deny that they are of our stock; for we have ample and clear testimonies, both old and new, as pledges thereof; because *Ar* or *Are*, is an old Gallic preposition, which signifies *at* or *upon*; as if we should say, *at* or *upon* the sea, *i. e.* maritime. And *Moremarusa* is derived from *More*, *i. e.* *Mare*, the sea; the last syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek participle. As for Aremorica or Armorica, (he that cannot know them at first hearing, must be wholly ignorant of the old Gallic tongue), they also signify maritime; and so Strabo interprets them, who in Greek always renders them *Apoccanite*. Cæsar writes thus of the Armorics, lib. 5. “That great forces of the Gauls, out of the cities called Ar-
 “moricae, were gathered to oppose him.” And, lib. 7, “Out of all the cities near the ocean, which, according
 “to their custom, are called Armoricae.” And lib. 8, “And the other cities situated in the extreme parts of
 “France, near the sea called Armoricae.” As often as Cæsar makes mention of these cities, he always adds, “which are so called;” but he so adds it, that it rather seems an epithet, or surname of a place, than its proper name. Neither is that found to be the name of a city in any other authentic writer; yet that word is spread far and near in that coast, viz. from Spain to the Rhine; and amongst all writers, I find Pliny alone seems not to under-

stand the force of the word ; for he thinks that all Gascoigne was sometimes so called. But enough of it at present ; more may be said of the Gallic tongue hereafter.

The most ancient name of the island is thought to have been *Albion* ; or as Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus in the book entitled, *De Mundo*, writes it *Albium*. But that name is rather taken out of books, than used in common speech ; unless amongst the old Scots, who, as yet, call themselves *Albinich*, and their country *Albin*. Many think that this name was given to it, from the white rocks which first appear to mariners, as they sail from France. But it seems very absurd to me, to fetch the original of a British name from the Latin, there being then so little commerce between strange nations. Others are of opinion, that this name was given by Albion the son of Neptune, whom they feign to have been some time king of Britain. A bold fiction, and having no ground from antiquity to support it ; yet some are not ashamed to give *Albion* this kingdom, upon so weak a foundation as that of a similitude in names. For I see no other foundation in history, which might occasion this fable. Amongst the Greeks, it is true, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo have made mention of *Albion* and *Bergion* ; of the Latins, Cato, Hyginus, and Mela ; from whom we may gather, that Albion and Bergion, the sons of Neptune, being Ligurians, infested the highways with robberies, which lead from the country of the Albici into Italy. These men, when Hercules, after he had conquered Geryon, was returning out of Spain, sought to rob him of his prey, and maintained so sharp a fight with him, that he, almost despairing of victory, (as old story says), was forced to implore the aid of Jupiter, who sent down a shower of stones to relieve his son ; and that the field of stones remained to posterity as a testimony of that fight. I will not deny, but that both the island, and the robber too, took their name

from *Album*. But this I say, that *Album* was a common name amongst many nations, and that it signified with them, not only colour, but height too. And Festus Pompeius affirms, that what the Latins call *Alba*, the Sabines call *Alpa*; from whence the Alps had their name, because they are white with continual snow. For my part, as I assent concerning the one, that *Album* and *Alpum* were synonymous amongst the ancients, and I have the authority, not of Festus only, but of Strabo also, to support my opinion; so I also judge, the Alps were so called, rather from their height than their whiteness. My reasons are, first, because *Alba* is the name of many cities in Italy, France, and Spain, which are all situated on hills, or near them: and besides, because Strabo acknowledges, that these names, *Alba*, *Alpa*, *Alpia*, *Albionia*, *Albici*, without any difference, are derived from the same root, in the signification of height; and therefore he shews, that they are most used where the Alps begin to grow high. Hence, in Liguria, there is *Albingaunum*, and *Albium Intimelum*; and among the Iapodes there is *Albium*, an exceeding high cliff, where the Alps do end. There are other places, which may seem to be so named from their height. In Italy there is the river *Albula*, rising in the mountains of Etruria, and the waters called *Albulæ*, flowing down from the Tiberine mountains. In Gallia *Narbonensis* there are the *Albici*, a mountainous people. In Germany there is the river *Albis*, arising from the mountains of Bohemia. In Asia, the river *Albanus* flows down from Mount Caucasus, and the Albanians dwell about the same mountain. By which instances, I think we may conclude, that *Album* is not a word of one, but many nations; and in all the places which I have named, their height is always one and the same; but their whiteness happens but for some few months in the year, and in some of them not at all. The names of the Ligurian giants do also

confirm this conjecture, Albion and Bergion, both of them, as I judge, being named from their tallness. What the ancients thought of the word *Album*, I have said enough. That the Germans call high, *Berg*, is too well known to want explanation : and there is a place in Pliny that shews, it was anciently used in the same sense amongst the Gauls ; it is in his third book, which I am of opinion must be thus read : “ Whence Cato affirms the Bergomates to have had “ their original, they discovering themselves by their “ names to be situated more highly, than happily.” Therefore Albion and Bergion were men, it seems, far taller than their neighbours, who, in confidence of their strength, did commit robberies in those coasts of Liguria, whom Hercules, travelling that way, subdued by force of arms. But none of the ancients ever affirmed, that they reigned in Britain ; and the then state of the Gallic affairs makes it very improbable that it should be so ; and it is likely, that the state of *Britain* was not much more quiet ; in which land the great Albion left a famous kingdom, that he might play the robber at home. Now, as I do not much differ from their opinion, who assert, that Albion was so called from *Album* ; so I think the occasion of the name was not from the colour, but from the height of the mountains. They who imposed that name were, I believe, something inclined thereunto by comparing England with Ireland, there being but a narrow sea between them ; for they seeing one shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into champaign or open fields, they called the first, *Albion*, from its height. But whether they gave any name to the second, from its low situation, the length of time, and the negligence of the inhabitants in recording ancient affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds strength to my opinion, that the name of the island, derived from *Album*, whether *Albion*, or *Albium*, remains in Scotland to this very

day, as in its native soil ; neither could it be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and the vicissitude of other things. These things seem true, or at least probable to me ; yet if any man can inform me better, I will easily be of his opinion.

Hitherto of the ancient names of the island. The next thing is, to explain the situation of the countries. The English writers have plainly and clearly enough described their own several counties ; but Hector Boetius, in his description of Scotland, hath delivered some things not so true, and he hath drawn others into mistakes, whilst he was over-credulous of those to whom he committed the inquiry after matters, and so published their opinions rather than the truth. But I shall briefly touch at those things which I am assured of ; and those which seem obscure and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

England, as far as concerns our present purpose, is most conveniently divided by four rivers, two running into the Irish sea, *viz.* Dee and Severn ; and two into the German sea, *i. e.* Thames and Humber. Between Dee and Severn lies Wales, being distinguished into three several regions. Between Severn and Thames, lies all that part of England which is opposite to France. The countries interjacent between Thames and Humber, make the third part ; and the countries reaching from Humber and Dee to Scotland, make up the fourth.

But Scotland is divided from England, first, by the river Tweed, then by the high mountain Cheviot ; and, where the mountain fails, then by a wall or trench newly made, and afterwards by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within those bounds, from the Scottish sea to the Irish, the counties lie in this order. First, March, in which the English do now possess Berwick, situate on the left side of the Tweed. On the east it is bounded with the Frith of Forth ; on the south with England. On the west,

on both sides the river Tweed, lies Teviotdale, taking its name from the river Teviot: it is divided from England by the Cheviot hills. After this lie three counties not very great, Liddisdale, Ewsdale, and Eskdale, being so called of three rivers which have an affinity in the sound, viz. Liddel, Ewe, and Esk. The last is Annandale, taking its name from the river Annan, which divides it almost in the middle, and, near to Solway, runs into the Irish Sea.

Now, to return again to Forth: On the east it is bounded by Lothain. Cockburn's-Path and Lammermoor hills divide it from March. Then, bending a little to the west, it touches Lauderdale and Tweeddale; the one so called from the town of Lauder, the other from the river Tweed, dividing it in the middle. Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale, do border on Tweeddale on the south and west. The river Nith gives name to Nithsdale, running through it into the Irish Sea. Lothian was so named from Lothus, king of the Picts. On the north-east it is bounded with the Forth, or Scottish sea, and it looks towards Clydesdale on the south-west. This country does far excel all the rest, in the civility of its inhabitants, and in plenty of all things for the use of life. It is watered with five rivers, Tyne, both the Esks, (which, before they fall into the sea, join in one channel), Leith, and Almond. These rivers, arising partly from the Lammermoor-hills, and partly from Pentland-hills, discharge themselves into the Frith of Forth. Lothian contains these towns, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow. More to the west lies Clydesdale, on both sides the river Clyde; which, by reason of its length, is divided into two sheriffwicks. In the uppermost of them there is an hill, not very high, yet out of it rivers run into three different seas: Tweed into the Scottish, Annan into the Irish, and Clyde into the Deucaledonian seas. The most eminent cities in it, are Lanark

and Glasgow. Kyle, on the south-west, is adjoining to it; beyond Kyle is Galloway. It is separated from Nithsdale by the river Clyde, bending almost wholly to the south; and that remaining part of Scotland is also covered by its shore.

It is all more fruitful in cattle than corn; it hath these rivers running into the Irish Sea, Ure or Ore, Dee, Kenn, Cree, and Luss. It hath scarce any great mountains, but only some small hills in it; between which, the water, stagnant in the valleys, makes abundance of lakes, by which, in the first showers after the autumnal equinox, the rivers are increased, which bring down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in weels made of osier-twigs, and salting them, get no small profit thereby. The boundary of that side is the Mull of Galloway, under which, in the mouth of the river Luss, is a bay, which Ptolemy calls Rerigonius. The bay commonly called Loch-Ryan, and, by Ptolemy, Vidogara, flows into it on the other side from the Frith of Clyde. The land running betwixt those bays, the inhabitants do call Rins, *i. e.* the edge of Galloway: they also call Novantum the Mull, *i. e.* the beak or jaw. But the whole country is called Galloway; for Gallovid, in old Scotch, signifies a Gaul.

Below Loch-Ryan, on the back side of Galloway, there lies Carrick bailiary, gently declining to the Frith of Clyde. Two rivers pass through it, Stinchar and Girvan, both of them having many pleasant villages on their banks. Between the rivers there are some small hills, fruitful for pasture, and not unfit for corn. It is all not only self-sufficient with land and sea commodities, but it also supplies its neighbours with many necessities. The river Down separates it from Kyle, which ariseth from a lake of the same name, wherein is an island with a small castle. Kyle follows next, bordering upon Galloway on the south, and on the north-east on Clydes-

dale; on the west it is separated from Cuninghame by the river Irving; the river Ayr divides it in the middle. Near it is situated Ayr, a town of great trade: the country in general abounds more with valiant men, than with corn or cattle; for the soil is poor and sandy, and that sharpens the industry of the inhabitants; and their parsimony confirms the strength both of their bodies and minds. After Ayr, Cuninghame runs on the north, and doth, as it were, juggle out and strengthen the Clyde, and brings it into the compass but of a moderate river. The name of the country is Danish, and, in that language, signifies The King's House; which is an argument that the Danes did some times possess it. Next is Renfrew, situated at the eastern part thereof; so called from a little town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their conventions; it is commonly called the barony of Renfrew. Two rivers, both of them called Carth, divide it in the midst. After the barony of Renfrew, Clydesdale stretches out on both sides of the river Clyde, and, in regard of its largeness, is divided into many jurisdictions. It pours out many famous rivers—on the left hand, Evan and Douglas, which run into Clyde; and, on the right, another river called Evan, which divides Lothian from Stirlingshire. These two currents take the common appellation of rivers, instead of a proper name; as in Wales, the river called Avon doth, in a diverse dialect. The river Evan or Avon, separates the county of Stirling, on the south, from Lothian; on the east the Frith of Forth, until at last, being lessened, it is reduced to the proper size of a passable river, and admits of a bridge near Stirling. There is but one memorable river which divides this country, called Carron water, near which there are some ancient monuments. On the left hand of Carron, there are two small hills or barrows, made of earth by man's hand, (as the thing itself shews), commonly called *Duni pacis*, i. e. em-

blems of reconciliation. But about two miles lower, on the same river, there is a round edifice made without any lime, but so formed with sharp stones, that part of the upper stone is, as it were, mortified into the lower; so that the whole work, mutually conjoined, sustains itself with the weight of the stones, from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by degrees. The top of it is open. The common people have several fancies, according to their divers humours, concerning the use and author of this structure. For my part, I once conjectured, that it was a temple of the god Terminus; which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at top: and the *Duni pacis* near adjoining, seemed somewhat to strengthen my conjecture, as if a peace had been made there, of which these hills are a monument, because there the Romans terminated the bounds of their jurisdiction and empire: neither could any thing have altered my opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable persons, that, in a certain island, there are many edifices, in other respects like the structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater, and not so compact. There are also two chapels in Ross of the like shape. These things made me suspend my opinion, and to judge that these were monuments or trophies, of some famous deeds, placed, as it were, at the fag-end of the world, that they might be preserved from the injury and fury of enemies. But whether these were trophies, or, (as some think), sepulchres of famous men, I believe they were monuments consecrated to be perpetuated to posterity, but built by rude and unskilful workmen, after the similitude of the chapel erected at Carron. On the right side of Carron, the ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little hill in it, almost in the mid-space between the *Duni pacis* and the chapel; and just there, at the bending of the angle, some remains of an ancient city appear to

this very day. But the foundation of the walls, and the description of the streets, partly by reason of countrymen ploughing up the ground, and partly by plucking out the square stones to build some rich men's houses thereabouts, are quite blended and confused. English Bede expressly calls this place Guidi, and places it in the very angle of the wall of Severus. Besides him many famous Roman writers make mention of this wall; yea, several footsteps thereof do yet appear, and many stones are dug out, with inscriptions containing either a gratulation of safety and victory, received by the centurions and tribunes of the Romans, or else some funeral epitaphs engraven thereon. And seeing the wall of Severus is seldom less distant than 100 miles from Adrian's, the older of the two, (as the remains of both do shew), English writers betray their great ignorance, either in not understanding the Latins, who have delivered these things down to us; or else their carelessness, who have translated that so confusedly, which is so plain in the original. However it be, the thing is worthy, if not of a sharp reprehension, yet of a light admonition at least; especially, since by the monuments lately spoken of, and by Bede's English history, too, it plainly appears, that once the boundary betwixt the Britons and the Scots was there. Those who fancy Maldon to be situated here, are the same men who affirm, that the chapel or structure we spoke of, was the temple of Claudius Cæsar: but they are much mistaken in both, seeing Maldon, a colony of the Romans, is above 300 miles distant from that place, if we may believe Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus. Cornelius Tacitus doth plainly confute this their mistake, as in all his other narrations, so especially when he says, that the Romans having lost Maldon, fled to the temple of Claudius Cæsar for safety. But that structure, whether it were a chapel or

temple of Terminus, or else a monument of some other thing, having no doors, nor sign of any, and being open also at top, from the casting in of stones, can scarce contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Moreover, about forty years after the expedition of Claudius Caesar into Britain, Julius Agricola was the first of the Roman generals who penetrated with his army into those parts: Besides, Adrian also, fifty years after Agricola, settled the bounds of the Roman province, between the rivers Tyne and Esk, by making a wall, of which several footsteps in many places do yet remain. But Septimius Severus, about the year of our Lord 210, entering into Britain, built a wall 100 miles beyond the limits made by Adrian, from the Frith of Clyde to the conflux of Forth and Avon, of which many clear and evident tokens yet remain. Besides, we never read in ancient writings, that the chief seat of the Picts was at Maldon, but at Abernethy; there was their royal, and also their episcopal seat, which was afterwards translated to St Andrew's. And if it be demanded, what moved the Romans to draw a colony thither, and how they maintained it in a soil so barren, and at that time woody, uncultivated, and obnoxious to the daily injuries of the fiercest of their enemies; I suppose, they will answer, (for I see not what else they can say), that it was supplied from the sea, for then ships came up to the very gates of the city; though against the stream of Carron water. If that were true, then the grounds lying on both sides the Forth, must needs be overwhelmed with the inundations of the ocean, and must therefore be barren, which alone, in that tract, ought to have borne corn. But this is yet a more difficult question; that seeing the sea-water did run on both sides the Forth, why the Romans did not there make their boundary-wall, rather than unnecessarily carry it many miles farther?

Beyond the county of Stirling lies Lennox, divided from the barony of Renfrew by Clyde, and from the county of Glasgow by the river Kelvin; from the county of Stirling by mountains, and from the stewartry of Monteith by the Forth; at length it is terminated in the mountain Grampius, or Granzben, at the foot of which, through an hollow valley, Loch Lomond spreads itself, which is twenty-four miles long and eight broad; it contains above twenty-four islands; besides a multitude of other fishes, it has some of a peculiar kind, very pleasant to eat; they call them Pollacks. At length, breaking out towards the south, it pours out the river Leven, giving name to the whole country, and near the castle of Dunbarton, and a town of the same name, falls into Clyde. The farthermost hills of Mount Grampius do heighten the extreme parts of Lennox, being divided by a small bay of the sea, called Loch Gair, from its shortness. Beyond that, there is a bay much larger, called Loch Long, from the river Long falling into it; that is the boundary between Lennox and Cowal. Cowal itself, Argyle, and Knapdale, are divided into many parts, by reason of several narrow bays of the sea running down into them, from the frith of Clyde. There is one bay, or loch, more eminent than the rest, among them, called Loch Fine, obtaining its name from the river Fine, which it receives into it; it is above sixty miles in length. There is also in Knapdale a loch called Loch Awe, in which there is a small island, and a castle that is fortified. The river Awe, or Owe, issues out from that loch, which is the only river in that country that empties itself into the Deucaledonian sea.

Beyond Knapdale, to the south-west, there runs out Kintyre, *i. e.* the head of the country; it stands over-against Ireland, from which it is divided but by a narrow sea: it is not so broad as it is long; and it is joined to Knapdale by so narrow an isth-

mus, or neck of land, that it is scarce a mile over : and that space too is nothing but sand, so plain and level, that sometimes seamen, to make their voyages shorter, do hale their small vessels, called Birlings, over it, from one side of Loch Tarbet to the other.

Lorn touches Knapdale ; it borders immediately on Argyle, and reaches as far as the country of Aber, commonly called Lochaber. It is a plain country, and not unfruitful ; where the mountain Grampius is lowered, and more passable : that country is called Braedalbane, which is as much to say, the highest part of Scotland ; and where the loftiest peak, or top of all is, that is called Drumalbane, *i. e.* the back of Scotland, and not without cause ; for from that back, there run down rivers into both seas, some into the north or German, others into the south or Deucalionian sea. For from Lochearn it pours out the river Earn, towards the south-east, which falls into the river Tay, about three miles below Perth. From this river, the country called in highland, or old Scots language, Strathearn, takes its name, being situated on both sides of its banks. For the highlanders use to call a country, lying at the fall of rivers, Strath. Between the mountains of the country and the Forth, lies the stewartry of Monteith, taking its name from the river Teith, which runs through the middle of it. Next to Monteith stand the mountains, called the Ochil Hills, a great part of which, as also of the country lying at the foot of them, is reckoned within the stewartry of Strathearn ; but the rest of the country, even unto the Forth, man's ambition hath divided into several stewartries, as the stewartry of Clackmannan, of Culross, and of Kinross. From these stewartries and the Ochil Hills, all the country lying between the Forth and the Tay, grows narrow like a wedge, eastward even to the sea ; and it is all called by one name, Fife, a country self-sufficient with all neces-

saries for the use of life : it is broadest where Loch Leven, and the river Leven running through it, do divide it ; and from thence it narrows on each side, till you come to the town of Crail ; it affords but one remarkable river, and that is called Leven. Its whole shore is stored with abundance of towns, of which the most remarkable for the study of the arts is St Andrew's, which the highlanders call Fanum Reguli. More to the inland, almost in the middle of the country, lies Cupar, the shire or assize town, whither the rest of the inhabitants of Fife come for the administration of justice. Where it touches Strathearn stands the town of Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Picts. Here the river Earn falls into the Tay.

As for the Tay itself, that breaks out from Loch Tay, which is in Braedalbane, (a loch twenty-four miles long) ; it is without question the greatest river in Scotland ; for winding about towards the Grampian Hills, it touches upon Athol, a fruitful country, situated in the very woody passages of Mount Grampius. That part of it which is extended into a plain, at the foot of the mountain, is called the Blair of Athol, which word signifies a soil bare of trees.

Below Athol, on the right side of the river Tay, stands the town of Caledonia, which yet retains its ancient name, though vulgarly called Dunkeldin, *i. e.* an hill full of hazel-trees. For those trees, growing thick in such unmanured places, and shadowing the country, like a wood, gave name both to the town, and also to the people thereabouts. For the Caledons, or Caledonians, heretofore one of the most famous nations amongst the Britons, made up one part of the kingdom of the Picts, as we may be informed by Ammianus Marcellinus, who divides the Picts into two tribes, *i. e.* the Caledones and the Vectoriones, though at this day there is hardly any token left of either of these two names.

Twelve miles below Dunkeldin, on the same right hand bank of the Tay, stands Perth, otherwise called St Johnston. And on the left bank of the Tay, below Athol, towards the east, stands Gowry, a country abounding with rich corn fields.

Below Gowry, between the Tay and the Esk, is extended Angus, or, as the highlanders call it, *Æneia*; some call it *Horestia*, or, according to the English dialect, *Forestia*. In it there are these two cities, Cupar, and that which Boetius, to gratify his countrymen, ambitiously calls *Deidonum*; but, I think the old name thereof was *Tacdunum*, *i. e.* Dundee, from Dun, *i. e.* an hill situated by the river Tay; for at the foot of that hill the town is built.

Fourteen miles beyond the Tay, in a direct line along the shore, we meet with the town of Aberbrothick, sometimes called *Abrinca*. Then follows the promontory, called *Red-head*, which shews itself at a good distance. The river South Esk runs through the middle of Angus; and the North Esk divides it from the Mearns. The Mearns is, for the most part, a plain and level country, till it toucheth Mount Grampius, beyond the little town of Fordun, and Dunotter, a castle belonging to the Earls of Marischal: then it grows lower and lower, declining towards the sea. Beyond Mearns, towards the north, is the river Dee, commonly called *Deemouth*; and about a mile beyond it is the river Don. Upon the one, there stands Aberdeen, a town famous for salmon-fishing; and upon the other stands Aberdee, (for so it is called in old records), where the bishop's see is, and also a flourishing university; but now-a-days both towns are distinguished only by the names of Old and New Aberdeen.

From this narrow front, between those two rivers, begins Marr, which, growing wider and wider by degrees, extends itself sixty miles in length, even unto Badenoch. Badenoch is full of hills and mountains, which sends forth rivers into both seas.

Aber borders upon Badenoch; it declines gently towards the Deucaledonian sea; a country (for a Scottish one) much abounding with all land and sea commodities. As it is fruitful in corn and pasture, so it is also very pleasant by reason of its shadowy groves, and the delightful fountains, brooks, and rivulets, which glide along through it. As for the multitude of fish, hardly any county in Scotland can compare with it: for, besides the plenty of fresh water fish, which so many rivers afford, the sea also contributes its dole of salt water ones; piercing, in a long channel, through the level part of the country, and there, being somewhat curbed and pent in by the higher boundary of the land, for some space, at length it diffuses and spreads itself abroad again, representing the form of a meer, or rather loch. Hence it is called Aber; *i. e.* in our country language, a road for ships. They give also the same name to the country thereabouts; those that affect to speak after the English mode, call both, *i. e.* that bay of the sea, and the country too, Lochaber; but in that they mistake, and talk without grounds. These three countries, Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, do take up all the breadth of Scotland between the two seas, the Deucaledonian and the German.

On the north, next to Marr, stands Buchan, divided from it by the river Don; it stretcheth out itself farthest of any county in Scotland, into the German sea. It is rich in pasture, and in a good breed of sheep, and is able to maintain itself with all conveniences for the support of life. The rivers in it abound with salmon: and yet, which is strange, there is one of its rivers, called Ratray, that hath not a salmon in it. On the shore of Ratray there is a strange kind of a cave, and I cannot omit describing the nature of it. The water in it drops down from a natural vault or arch, and is turned into pyramids of stone; so that if men were not constantly cleaning it, the whole space, to the very roof, would

be quickly petrified, and filled up as one continued solid. The stone thus concreted is of a middle nature between stone and ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the hardness and solidity of marble. When I was at Toulouse, about the year of our Lord 1544, I was informed by credible persons, that there was a cave in the neighbouring Pyrenean hills, altogether like this in Scotland.

Beyond Buchan to the north, lie two small counties, Boyne and Enzie, which reach to the river Spey, that separates them from Murray. As for the river Spey, that hath its rise in the ridge of hills in Badenoch, which I have mentioned before; and not far from the fountain thereof is a loch, which sends forth a river called Lochty, which rolls itself into the west sea. At the mouth of it there was once (as they say) a noble town, called Inner-lochty, borrowing its name from the loch aforesaid. The truth is, if you consider the nature of the neighbouring soil, and the conveniency of transporting and carriage by sea, it is a place very fit for a mart-town; and our ancient kings, tempted and invited by those conveniences, made their abode there for some ages in the castle of Evonia, which some falsely persuade themselves to be Dunstaffnage; for the rubbish and ruins of that castle are yet to be seen in Lorn. There are some small counties lying betwixt Buchan and the west sea, but having scarce any thing remarkable in them, I shall not waste time to describe them.

Beyond the Spey, even unto the river Ness, there follows Murray, heretofore, as it is thought, called Varar. Between those two rivers, the Spey and the Ness, the German ocean doth, as it were, drive the land backward to the west, and so, with a vast bay, abridges the largeness of it. This whole country, for the extent of it, abounds with corn and pasturage; but as for pleasantness, and the profit arising from fruit-trees, it bears away the bell from all the other countries in Scotland. It hath two

eminent towns in it, Elgin and Inverness. Elgin stands on the river Lossie, and as yet retains its ancient name. Inverness is situated by the river Ness, which issues out of Loch Ness, a loch 24 miles long; the water in it is almost always warm, and all the year long it is never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest winter that is, if flakes of ice are put into it, they will quickly be thawed by the warmth of its waters.

Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, there are only eight miles of continent interjacent; so small a portion of ground hinders the conjunction of the two seas, and, consequently, the making of the rest of Scotland an island; for all that space of land which lies betwixt that narrow neck and the Deucaledonian sea, is cut off from the rest by several bays of the sea breaking into it.

That part of the country which lies beyond Loch Ness, and those narrow straits, or neck of land, before mentioned, is wont to be divided into four provinces or shires, viz. Ross, Strathnavern, Sutherland, and Caithness. Beyond the mouth of Ness, where it disembogues itself into the German Sea, lies Ross, which runs out into the sea with very high promontories, as the name itself shews; for Ross, in the Scottish dialect, signifies a promontory. This province hath more of length than breadth in it; for it reaches from the German, quite home to the Caledonian Sea. Where it is mountainous, it is barren and untilld: but the plains scarce yield to any part of Scotland for fruitfulness. It hath also many pleasant valleys in it, which are watered with rivers full of fish, together with several lochs well stored with fish. But the greatest of them all is Loch Broom. From the Deucaledonian Sea the shore grows somewhat narrower, and turns back towards the north-east; from the opposite shore, the German Sea, making its way between the clefts of high rocks within land, expands itself into a spa-

cious bay, which affords a safe harbour, and road for ships, against all storms; for the passage into it is not difficult, and when you are once entered, even the greatest fleets that are may be secure from all injury of wind and weather.

At the farthest point of Ross, towards the north, lies Naver, so called from the river Naver, which the vulgar, following the propriety of their country speech, call Strathnaver. Ross bounds it on the south; the Deucalionian sea washeth it west and north; and on the east it reaches to Caithness.

Sutherland is so situated between the three last-mentioned provinces, that it borders on them all; and, in some quarter or other, touches them all: for on the west of it lies Strathnaver; on the south and east, Ross; and on the north, Caithness. The inhabitants there, according to the nature of the soil, are more given to pasturage than tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, save only that it hath some mountains of white marble, (a rare miracle in so cold a country), which yet is of little or no use to the inhabitants, because that luxuriant humour, which covets it, hath not yet reached to this place.

Caithness is the last province of Scotland towards the north, in which coast Strathnaver also comes up with it. These two countries do contract the breadth of Scotland into a narrow front. In that front there are three high promontories: the highest of them all is in Strathnaver, which Ptolemy calls Orcas, or Tarvedrum, now Faro-Head; the other two are in Caithness, but not so high as the former; *i. e.* Vervedrum, now called *Hoia*, *i. e.* Strathy Head; and Berubium, (Dunsbay Head), falsely called by Hector Boetius, Dume; some call it Duncan's-Bei, from which word some letters being subtracted, the word *Duns Bei* seems to be derived. At the foot of the hill there is a small bay, which little vessels, coming from the Orcades, use as a haven or port.

For a bay of the sea is there called *Bei*: and this creek, or bay, being called by the neighbouring inhabitants the *Bei* of Duncan, or *Donach*; from both those words conjoined, the country-language hath formed *Dunis-Bei*.

In this tract Ptolemy places the *Cornavii*, (or *Caithness-men*): some similitude of which name does yet remain; for they commonly call the castle of the Earls of Caithness, *Gernico*; for those whom foreigners call *Cornavii*, the Britons call *Kernici*. And seeing he places the *Cornavii*, not in this tract only, but even in a far distant part of the island, viz. Cornwall in England; they who retain the old British speech, do yet call the same persons, *Kernicii*; and, perhaps, it is no absurd conjecture to imagine, that the *Cornavalli* are so called for *Kernicovalli*, i. e. the *Kernic-Gauls*. Nay, in the very midst of the island, some marks, though obscure ones, of that name, seem to have remained. For Bede writes, that the beginning of the wall of Severus was not far from the monastery of *Kebercurnig*; whereas there is now no sign of a monastery in those parts; but there remains not far from thence the half-ruined castle of the Douglas's, called *Abercorn*. Whether both of these words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave to the reader to judge.

It remains now, that I speak something concerning the islands of Scotland, which part of the British history is perplexed with abundance of mistakes. But omitting the ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this subject, I shall only insist on what the writers of our times have more truly and plainly acquainted us with. Of all the islands which do, as it were, begirt Scotland, they make three classes or ranks, the Western, the Orcades, and the Zetlandish, or Shetland islands.

Those are called the western isles, which lie between Scotland and Ireland, on the west of Scotland, in the Deucaledonian sea, and reach almost

to the isles of Orkney, or Orcades. They who have written of the British affairs, either now, or in the age before us, call them Hebrides; a new name, of which there is not any sign, or any original, in ancient writers. For, in that tract of the sea, some authors place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*; but with such inconsistency amongst themselves, that they scarce ever agree in their number, situation, or names. Strabo, (to begin with the most ancient), may be the better excused, because he followed uncertain report, that part of the world being not fully discovered in his time. Mela reckons the *Æmodæ* to be seven; Martianus Capella makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; Ptolemy and Solinus count the *Æbudæ* five; Pliny numbers the *Acmodæ* to be seven; and the *Æbudæ* thirty. I, for my part, think it fit to retain the names most used by the ancients, and therefore I call all the western isles *Æbudæ*; and I purpose to describe the site, nature, and commodities of every one of them, as out of later, so out of surer authors.

In performing this task, I will principally follow Donald Monro, a pious and diligent person, who travelled in person over all those islands, and viewed them exactly. They lie dispersed in the Deucalionian sea, being above 300 in number. The kings of Scotland were masters of them, time out of mind, until Donald, the brother of Malcolm III. yielded up the possession of them to the king of Norway, that, by his aid, he might forcibly seize upon the crown of Scotland, to which he had no right. The Danes and Norwegians enjoyed them about 160 years, until, being overcome in a great battle, they were outed of them by Alexander III. king of Scotland. These islanders, either confiding in their strength, or else urged on and induced by sedition, have sometimes endeavoured to assert their liberty, and to set up kings of their own: for, of late, John, of the family of the Donalds, as well

as others before him, usurped the name of king. In their diet, habit, and the whole administration of their domestic affairs, they use the ancient parsimony. Hunting and fishing afford them food. They boil their flesh in water poured either into the paunch, or into the skin of the beasts they kill; and, in hunting, they sometimes eat raw flesh, when the blood is squeezed out. The broth of boiled flesh meat is their drink. They sometimes drink whey very greedily in their feasts, after it hath been kept, in proper vessels, for some years. That kind of drink they call Blandium; but, for the most part of them, they drink water. They make their bread of oats and barley (for they have no other grain growing in those parts), which is not unpleasant to the taste; and, by frequent use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the morning they eat a little of it, and so go a-hunting; or, if they have any other work to do, they are content with that light breakfast, and fast till the evening. They use party-coloured garments, and especially striped plaids. Of all colours they love the purple and the blue most. Their ancestors wore party-coloured plaids, variously striped, which custom some of them do still retain: but, now-a-days, many of them wear their apparel of a dark brown colour, almost like heath; that so, lying in the heath-bushes, they may not, in the day-time, be discovered by their clothes. Being rather loosely wrapped, than closely covered, with this sort of blanketing, they endure the fiercest weather, even in the open air; and sometimes they sleep in them, though covered all over with snow. In their houses they also lie on the ground; only they lay under them fern or heath, which they place with their roots downward, and their brush upwards, so prettily, that their beds are almost as soft as a feather-bed, but far more wholesome. For heath being naturally a very great drier, doth exhaust superfluous

humours, and restores vigour to the nerves, after it hath freed them from such noxious moisture; so that they who lie down in the evening weary and faint, in the morning rise up nimble and sprightly. They are all of them very regardless of their bed-ticks and coverlets; nay, they affect an uncouth slovenliness in that particular; for, if any occasion, or necessity, cause them to travel into other parts, when they go to bed, they throw the bed and blankets of their hosts on the ground, and wrap themselves up in their own garments, and so go to sleep. The reason they give is, lest such barbarous effeminacy (for so they call it) should taint and corrupt their native and inbred hardiness. In war they cover their bodies with iron helmets, and a coat of mail, made of iron rings, reaching almost down to their ancles. Their weapons are bows, and arrows for the most part hooked, the iron barbs standing out on both sides, which cannot be drawn out of the body they pierce, unless the orifice of the wound be made very wide; some of them fight with broad-swords and pole-axes. Instead of a trumpet they use a bagpipe. They are much given to music, especially on instruments of a peculiar kind, called Clarshacks; of which some have strings made of brass-wire, others of gut, which they strike either with their long nails, or with a quill. Their only ambition is, to deck their fiddles with very much silver and jewels. The meaner sort, instead of jewels, use crystal. They sing songs, not inelegant, containing commonly the eulogies of valiant men; and their bards usually treat of no other subject. They use something, though but little, of the old Gaulish language.

These islands of Scotland, which use the ancient tongue, and are called the Western or Æbudæ Isles, are usually reckoned thus: The first of them is Mana, by some falsely called Mona, but by the ancients Eubonia; Paulus Orosius calls it Mevania,

or rather Menavia; for in the old language it is called Manim. The last age called the town Sodora, in which the bishop had his see. It is a province almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England; it is twenty-four miles long, and eight broad.

The next isle arising in the frith of Clyde is Ailsa or Ailsa, an high and precipitous rock, excepting only one plain passage into it. It is uninhabited almost all the year; but only, at certain seasons, a great number of skiffs and busses flock thither to fish for cod and whiting. It abounds with conies and sea-fowl, but especially with Soland geese. It is almost equally distant from Carrick on the south-east, from Ireland on the south-west, and from Cantyre on the north-west. The isle of Arran is situated twenty-four miles from Ailsa, inclining towards the north; it is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is full of high craggy mountains, so that only its sea-coasts are inhabited; where it is lowest, the sea breaks into it, and makes a considerable bay, the entrance of which is covered by the island Molas, *i. e.* Lamlach or Lamlash. So that, by reason of the height of the mountains, which break the force of the wind, it is, within, a very safe harbour for shipping; and there is such plentiful fishing in those waters, which are perpetually calm, that, if the inhabitants catch more than what will serve them for one day, they throw them again into the sea, as into a safe trunk or fish-pond, to be thence taken out at their pleasure.

Not far from Arran lies a small island called Flada or Fladda, which is full of rabbits. Bute isle, being eight miles long, and four broad, is situated more within the Frith of Clyde, and is eight miles distant from Arran aforesaid, on the north-east. On the north-west it is distant from Argyle about half a mile; on the east, from Cunningham, six miles. It is all in a manner low-land, and so very convenient.

for corn and pasturage. It hath but one town in it, bearing the name of the island; and in it an old castle named Rothsay. It hath also another castle at the bay, called in the country language Cames or Kames castle. On the south-west of it is the low island of Mernoch. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for a place of its bigness; it is a mile long, and half a mile broad. Farther still within the Frith of Clyde, are the two Cumbraes, the Greater and the Less, at a small distance one from another; the Greater abounding with corn, the less with fallow-deer.

From the promontory of Cantyre, a little more than a mile, lies Avona, now Sanda, called Portuosa, *i. e.* fit for a port. It got that name from being a road for ships; for when the Danes possessed those islands, their fleets went thither for shelter. From the same promontory to the south-west, over against the Irish shore, stands Rathlin; as also four miles from Cantyre, is a small island called Cana; and not far from thence Gigha, six miles long, and a mile and a-half broad.

The island of Jura is distant 12 miles from Gage, being in length twenty-four miles. Its maritime parts are inhabited well enough, but being woody in the inland parts, it abounds with several sorts of deer. Some think it was anciently called Dera, which in the Gothic language signifies a stag. Two miles distant from Jura lies Scarba, in length from east to west four miles, in breadth one; it is inhabited but in few places. The tide is so violent between it and Jura, that there is no passage neither with sails nor oars, but at certain seasons only.

After this there are many islands of less note spread up and down, as Bellach or Genistaria, Gewrasdil, Lunga, both the Fiola's or Fiolas's; also the three Garvillans, distinguished by respective surnames; then Culbrenin, Dunconnel, Luparia, Belhac, Whoker, Gavin, Luing, Seil, and Suin. These

three last-named are fruitful enough in corn and cattle, and are under the jurisdiction of the Earls of Argyle. The next to these is Slata, or Sleach; so called because tiles, named slates, are hewn out of a rock, which it contains. Then follow Naosg, Easdale, Schanni, and the isle called Tyan, from an herb which is prejudicial to fruits, not unlike guild or loose-strife, but that it is of a more dilute colour; and Uridich and the Rye island. Then Dow, *i. e.* the black island; and the island English, or of the church, and Triarich. After these follow the islands Ard or High, Ishol, Green, Heath, as also Tree, Goat, Coney-isles, and that which is called the island of the Otiosi, and Erisbach; as also Lismore, in which was formerly the bishop of Argyle's see; it is eight miles in length, two in breadth; in it there are found metals, besides the commodities common to other isles. Then succeed Ovilia, and Siuna, Ilan na port, and Geirach; as also Falda, the isle of Cloich, Gramry; the islands More, Ardiescara, Musadil, and Bernera, heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the noble Yew-isle, Molo-hasgar, and Drinacha, which is all covered over with thorns, alder, and the ruins of great houses; then another isle, Drimach, which is full of wood; also Ramsey and Kerrera.

The greatest of the western islands next to Jura, is Isla; which is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is extended from south to north; and is very fruitful in cattle, corn, deer, and lead. There is a river of fresh water in it, called Avonlaggan, as also a bay of salt water, in which are several islands; besides it hath a loch of fresh water, in which there is an island called Finlaggan; which heretofore was the chief of all the islands, in which the Prince of the Islanders, assuming the name of King, was wont to dwell. Near to that, but less, is the island called Ilan na-Covihaslip, called also the Island of Council; for there was a court in it, where

fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice, and determining matters of controversy; whose great equity and moderation procured peace, both foreign and domestic; and, as a concomitant of peace, the affluence of all things. Between Isla and Jura there is seated a small island called Rock Isle, taking its name from an heap of stones there. Moreover, on the south side of Isla lie these islands, Chourna, Maalmora, Osrin, Brida, Corshera, the island Ishol, Immersi, Bethic, Texa, Gearach, Naosg, Rinard, Cana, Terskeir, Achnar, the Isle More, the island resembling the figure of a man, the island Jean, and the Stachabadda. At the west corner of Isla stands Oversa; there also the sea is very raging, not passable for ships but at certain hours. The island Channard, and towards the north-west are situate Usabrest, and Tanast, Naomph, and the island Banni; eight miles from Isla, more towards the north, lies Oversa, next to it Porcaria, and half a mile from Oversa lies Colonsay.

Beyond Colonsay, to the north lies Mull, twelve miles distant from Isla. This island is twenty-four miles in length, and as many in breadth; it is craggy, yet not wholly barren of corn. It hath many woods in it, and great herds of deer, and a port safe enough for ships; over-against Icolmkill, it hath two large rivers full of salmon, besides other less rivers not without fish; it hath also two lochs, in each of which are several islands, and castles on them all. The sea, breaking into it in divers places, makes four bays, all abounding with herrings. On the south-west is seated Calaman, or the island of Doves; on the north-east stands Erra; both these islands are commodious for cattle, corn and fishing.

The island of Icolmkill is distant from them two miles; it is two miles long, and above a mile broad; fruitful in all things which that climate can produce, and famed for as many ancient monuments, as could

be well expected in such a country; but it was made yet more famous by the severe discipline and holiness of St. Columbus. It was beautified with two monasteries, one of monks, the other of nuns; with one curia, or (as they call it) a parish-church, and with many chapels, some of them built by the munificence of the kings of Scotland; and others by the petty kings of the islands; in the old monastery of St. Columbus, the bishops of the islanders placed their see; their ancient mansion-house, which was before in the Isle of Man, being taken by the English. There remains, as yet, among the ancient ruins, a church-yard, or burying-place, common to all the noble families which dwelt in the western islands. There are three tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small distance one from another, having little shrines, looking towards the east, built over them. In the west part of each of them there is a stone with an inscription, declaring whose tombs they are; the middlemost of them hath this inscription:—‘The tomb of the kings of Scotland;’ for it is reported, that forty-eight of the Scottish kings were buried there; in that on the right hand, there is this title carved:—‘The tomb of the kings of Ireland;’ for four kings of Ireland are said to be interred there; that on the left side is inscribed:—‘The tomb of the kings of Norway;’ for report says, that eight kings of that nation were entombed there. In the rest of the cemetery, the eminent families of the island have each their tombs apart. There are six islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which have been given by ancient kings, and by the princes of the islanders, to the nunnery of St. Columbus.

The island Soa, though it hath convenient pasturage for sheep, yet its greatest revenue is from the sitting and hatching of sea-fowl, and especially from their eggs. The next to that is Nuns island; then Rudana; after that Reringa; after which follows

Skanny, distant half a mile from Mull; it hath one parish in it, but the parishioners live mostly in Mull. The shore abounds with conies. A mile from Skanny, stands Eorsa. All these are under the jurisdiction of the monks of St Columbus's monastery.

Two miles from Eorsa stands Ulva, which is five miles long, and, for its size, fruitful in corn and pasturage. It hath an haven very commodious for galleys, long boats, or berlins. On its south side lies Colvansa; the soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a wood of hazel in it. Almost three hundred paces from it, is situated Gomedra, two miles long and a mile broad, running out from south to north. Four miles from Gomedra, on the south, stands Staffa; both of these two last named isles have many good havens in them. Four miles from hence, towards the north-west, are the two Carnaburghs, the Greater and the Less, so fortified round about with the precipices of rocks, and a most rapid current besides, that, their natural strength being assisted by art, they are impregnable. A mile from these, is an island whose soil is almost all black, as being cemented out of old rotten wood and moss mixed together. They dry the turf of it for fuel, and therefore it is called Turf-island; for so they there call that sort of earth, which the English call moss. Then succeeds Lunga, two miles in length, and Baca half less than it.

From thence towards the west, about six miles distance, stands Tiree, in length eight miles, in breadth three; of all these islands, most abounding with all things necessary to maintain life; for there is plenty of cattle and corn; they also get much by fishing, and the breed of sea-fowl. There is in it a lake or loch of fresh water, and an old castle, as also an haven, not unsafe for galleys and long boats. Two miles from hence stands Gunn isle, and at an equal distance from Gunn, Coll, twelve miles long, two broad, a very fruitful isle. Not far from thence

is Calfa, which is almost all covered with wood. After that, two islands follow, surnamed *Green*, the Greater and the Less. And as many lie, of the same surnames, over against the promontory of Mull. Not far from this, lie two islands, surnamed *Glassæ*. *i. e.* sky-blue; then Ardan rider, *i. e.* the high island of the Horseman; next Luparia, or the island of wolves; after this is the island More. From the island Coll, toward the north, there is extended, from east to west, Rum, sixteen miles long, six broad; and because it is inhabited but in few places, the sea-fowl almost every where lay their eggs up and down in the fields; so that in the spring one may take up as many of them as one pleases. In the high rocks of Rum, the Soland geese, spoken of before, are taken in great abundance. Four miles from thence, to the south-east, is the island Naich, or of horses, and half a mile from thence is Muick; for its bigness, abounding with all necessaries. Falcons build their nests there; and it hath also a port convenient enough for shipping. Not far from it, are Canna, and Egg isle, small, yet fruitful islands; the latter abounding with Soland geese.

Then there is Soavretail, fitter for hunting than any other commodities of life. Thence, from north to south, is extended Skye, the greatest of all the islands about Scotland, as being in length 42 miles, in breadth sometimes eight, sometimes twelve; in many places, it is full of mountains, which abound with woods, and those woods are full of pastures. The champaign is also fruitful of corn and cattle; and, besides other cattle, it is famous for a large breed of mares. It hath five great rivers in it, all very full of salmon; besides many less ones, not without salmon neither. The sea penetrating on every side into the land, makes many bays of salt water there, of which three are most eminent, besides thirteen others, all full of herrings. It hath also a loch of fresh water in it, and five castles. This island, in the old Scottish dialect, was called *Skianacha*, *i. e.*

winged, because the promontories, between which the sea made its influx, stretched out themselves, as so many wings; but it is now by use come to be called *Skye*, *i. e.* a wing.

About *Skye*, there lie scattered some smaller islands, as *Oransa*, full of corn and cattle; and *Nagunner*, having plenty of woods and conies; as also *Pabo*, infamous for robberies, where thieves, lurking in the woods, waylay travellers as they pass. Then comes *Scalpa*, situated eight miles from it to the north-west; besides other commodities, it hath great herds of deer in its woods. Between the mouth of *Lochcarron* and *Raasa*, lies *Crouling*, a port safe for ships. And from *Scalpa*, two miles towards the north, lies *Raasa*, seven miles long, and two broad. It hath woods of beech-trees in it, and many deer in them. Half a mile from it is *Rona*, which is quite covered over with woods, and heath. It hath a port in its inmost bay, noted for piracy, as being very commodious to surprise sea-passengers. And in the mouth of the bay, (which, from its shallowness, is called *Gerloch*), there is an island of the same name. From *Rona*, six miles towards the north, lies *Flazda*. Two miles from *Fladda* is *Tronta*, and on the south side of *Skye*, *Oransa*: a mile from thence, lie *Little Buia*, then *Great Buia*; and after them, five small islands of no note; after them follows *Ishol*, fruitful in corn; and near it is *Ovia*, then *Askerma*, and *Linadel*; and 80 miles from *Skye*, to the north-west, lie *Linga*, *Gigamina*, *Bernera*, *Megala*, *Paba*, *Flada*, *Scarpa* *vervecum*, *i. e.* of wedders, *Sandrera*, and *Watersa*, which, besides other great conveniencies, hath a haven capable of holding many, and those very great ships; whither, at certain seasons of the year, a great company of fishermen flock together, from the countries round about. These nine last islands are under the government of the bishop of the islands. Two miles distant from *Watersa*, lies *Barra*, seven miles in length, extending itself from the south-

west to the north-east, not unfruitful in corn, but most noted for cod and whiting fishery : a bay of the sea makes an influx into it, at a narrow mouth ; but within it is broader and also round. It hath one island in it, and therein a strong fort or castle. In the north part of Barra, there ariseth an hill full of grass from top to bottom ; on the top of it riseth a spring of fresh water, which flowing down in a rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring sea some small animals, and yet shapeless ; which in some sort, though not very plainly, represent those shell-fish we commonly call cockles. This part of the shore, to which the borderers retire, they call the Great Sanda ; because when the sea ebbs, the sand is uncovered for a mile and more ; there they dig up great shell-fish, which the people thereabout believe to be bred out of the seminary of those shapeless fish, which the forenamed drill carries down from its fountain ; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the sea.

Between Barra and Uist lie these small islands following, Orbansa, Ovia or Eoy, Hakerset, Garulinga, Flada, Buia the Greater and Buia the Less, Haia, Heldisay, Gega, Linga, Fara, Fuda, Heath island. From these towards the north, lies Uist, thirty miles long, and six broad. The tide flowing into this island in two places, represents the appearance of three islands ; but when it ebbs, it again grows into one : there are many lakes of fresh water in it, the biggest of which is three miles long. The sea, wearing away the land, hath made itself a passage into this loch ; neither can it be excluded by the inhabitants, no not by a jetty or bank of sixty feet high, but that it insinuates itself between the stones, not well compacted together, and there often leaves some small sea-fish behind. There is a fish taken in it, in other respects like a salmon, save that his belly is white, and his back black, and he is without scales like to a salmon. Moreover, there

are in it abundance of lochs of fresh water. It hath caves in it covered with heath, which are lurking-places for robbers. There are five parish-churches in it for the performance of holy duties.

Eight miles from thence, towards the east, lies Helscher vetularum, so called, as I suppose, because it belongs to the nuns of the island of Icolmkill. A little farther towards the north appears Halvelschyer, to which at certain seasons of the year many sea-calves (or seals) do resort, and are there taken. About sixty miles beyond that, to the north-west, stands Hirta, very fruitful in corn, cattle, and especially in sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the islands. The inhabitants are ignorant of all arts, and especially of religion. After the summer solstice, the lord of the island sends thither his proctor or steward, to gather his rent or tribute; and, with him, he sends a priest to baptize all the children, which were born the year before; but if the priest come not, then every man baptizeth his own children; they pay to their lord a certain number of sea-calves, and of muttons, dried in the sun, and also of sea-fowl. The whole island doth not exceed a mile in length, and it is almost of equal breadth; neither can any part of it be seen from any neighbouring island, besides three mountains which are on the shore, and these cannot be discerned neither, but from the highest places of other islands. In those mountains there are sheep exceedingly beautiful, but by reason of the violence and rapidity of the sea current and tide, they can scarce be come at by any body.

But to return to Uist: On the north promontory thereof there is situate the isle Valley, a mile broad and two miles long. Between that promontory and the isle Harrick, these islands are interjacent, small indeed, but not unfruitful, viz. Soa, Stromoy, Pabaia, Bernera, Erisay, Keligera, Saga the Less, Saga the Greater, Hermodra, Scarvay, Gria,

Linga, Gillan, Hea, Hoia, Ferelaia, Soa the Less, Soa the Great, Isa, Senna the Less, Senna the Great, Tarransa, Slegana, Tuema, and, above Har-ric, Scarpa; and due west there are seven islands, at fifty miles distance above Lewis, which some call Flananæ, others the Sacred, or Sanctuary islands; they arise up into grassy mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any four-footed beasts, but only wild sheep, which the hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done. They make tallow of their fat, which is the most that they yield; that little flesh which they have is so unpleasant, that no man will eat it, unless he is forced to it by extremity of hunger.

Furthermore, almost in the same tract, nearer to the north, lie Garvellan, *i. e.* the Craggy Island, Lamba, Flada, and Kellasa, the two Berneras, the Great and the Small, Kirta, Buia the Little, Buia the Great, Vexa, Pabaia, and Sigrama the Great, or Cunicularia, so called from its plenty of conies, Sigrama the Less, and the island of Pigmies. In this last there is a chapel, where the bordering people do believe that pigmies were heretofore buried; for many strangers, digging deep into the earth, have found, and yet do find, little and round heads, and the small bones of other parts of human bodies, that do not in the least differ from the ancient reports concerning pigmies.

In that shore of the island Lewis, which looks toward the south-east, two bays of the sea break into the land, one of which they call the South, the other the North loch; both of them yield abundance of fish, to those who take pains to catch them, and that during the whole year. From the same shore of Lewis, more to the south, stands Fable isle, then Adam's isle, then the isle of Lambs; as also, Hulmen, Viccoil, Havera, Laxa, Erin, the isle of Icolmkill, Tory, Iffert, Scalpa, Flada, and Shevy. At the east side of this island there is a subterrane-

ous passage, arched at top, above a bowshot in length; under which vault, small ships use to shelter themselves, making to it by sails or oars, to avoid the violence of the tide, which rages at the neighbouring promontory, with a huge noise, to the extreme terror and danger of the mariners. More to the east lies an island which they call Scham Castle, a place naturally fortified, abounding with corn and fish, and also affording sufficient provision to the inhabitants by eggs of sea-fowl, which there make their nests.

At the shore, where Loch Brian, or Broom, opens to the land, lies the isle Eu, which is almost all covered with woods, and good for nothing but to harbour thieves in, to rob passengers. More to the north is the island Gruinorta, being also full of woods, possessed by robbers and pirates. And looking towards the same coast, is an island, named the island of Cleirach, which, beside pasturage, abounds with the eggs of sea-fowl. Next to that is Afula, and then Harary the Greater, then Harary the Less; and nigh it the island of horses, or Nastich; and near that again, the isle Mertaica. These eight islands are situate before the mouth of the bay, which is vulgarly called Loch Broom, or Brian. At some distance from these islands, which lie before Loch Broom, Harish and Lewis run toward the north. They are 60 miles in length and 16 in breadth. These make but one island, for they are not distinguished by the arms of the sea, that flow into it, but by the meers of the land, and the possessions of their several lairds; but that part which is exposed to the south, is wont to be called Harish. There was a monastery in it, called Roadilla, built by Macleod of Harish. The soil is fruitful of corn, but it yields its increase rather by digging than ploughing. Its pastures are very fit for sheep, especially one very high mountain, which is green with

grass, even to the very top. Donald Monro, a learned and pious man, relates, that when he was there, he saw sheep very old (for that kind of cattle), wandering up and down without any certain owner; and the number of them is increased from hence, that neither fox, wolf, or serpent was ever seen there; though great woods lie betwixt this part and Lewis, which breed many stags, but low ones, and their bodies are of no large size. In this part of the island is a river very full of salmon. In the north part lies Lewis, inhabited enough towards the shore. It hath four parish-churches in it, one fort, seven great brooks, and twelve smaller, all of them, according to their bigness, full of salmon; in many places the sea penetrates into the land, and there diffuses itself into bays, all abounding with plenty of herrings. There is also great plenty of sheep, which wander freely amongst the thickets and heath-bushes. The inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a sheep-fold, and there every year they shear them, after the ancient custom. The champaign part of the country abounds with heath-bushes, among which the surface of the earth is black, occasioned by moss, that is matted as it were with rotten wood, gathered together for many ages, even a foot thick. This upper crust, being cut into long and slender turfs, and dried in the sun, serves for firing instead of wood; the next year after, the naked ground, being dunged with seaweed, is sown with barley. In this island there is commonly so great a quantity of whales taken, that sometimes (as the old inhabitants relate) 27, some very great, some smaller, fall to the share of the priests for their tithes. There is also a great cave in this island, in which, when the tide is out, the water is yet two fathoms deep; but when the tide is in, it is above four fathom. There multitudes of people, of both sexes, and of all ages, sitting on the rocks, with hooks and lines, do promiscuously catch all sorts of fish, in great abundance.

There is a small island, about sixty miles from Lewis, to the north-east, of a low and plain soil, and well inhabited ; its name is Rona ; the inhabitants thereof are rude persons, and without almost any religion at all. The laird of it assigns a certain number of families to inhabit and till it, and he allows them a sufficiency of great and small cattle, whereby they may live well and pay their tribute too. That which is above their own provision, they send every year to Lewis, to their landlord, who lives there. They commonly pay him, in the name of a tribute or rent, a great quantity of barley-meal, sewed up in the skins of sheep, (for that kind of grain grows plentifully among them), muttons, and sea-fowl dried in the sun, as much as remains, as a surplusage of their yearly provision ; and if the multitude of their people doth superabound, they send also the supernumerary persons to their landlords. So that these, in my judgment, are the only persons in the world who want nothing, but have all things to satiety. And besides, being ignorant of luxury and covetousness, they enjoy that innocence and tranquillity of mind, which others take great pains to obtain, from the precepts and institutions of wise men. And this they have from their ignorance of vices ; neither doth any thing seem to be wanting to their great happiness, but that they do not understand the excellency of their condition. There is in this island a chapel dedicated to St Ronanus, where (as old men say) there is a spade always left, with which if any one die, there is always found a place marked out, and prepared for his grave. Moreover, in this island, besides other fishery, many whales are also taken.

Sixteen miles from thence, towards the west, lies the island Suilsker ; a mile long, which brings forth no grass, no, not so much as heath ; only it hath black rocks, some of which are covered with black moss. Sea-fowl do commodiously lay their eggs, and hatch them there. Before the young are fledg-

ed enough to fly away, the neighbour islanders sail thither from Lewis, and they allow themselves eight days time, more or less, to cull or gather them up, until they load their skiffs with their flesh dried in the wind, and also with their feathers. In this island also, there is a rare kind of bird unknown in other parts, called *Colca*; it is little less than a goose; she comes every year thither in the spring, and there hatches and feeds her young, till they can shift for themselves. About that time, her feathers fall off of their own accord, and so leave her naked; then she betakes herself to the sea again, and is never seen more till the next spring. This also is singular in them, their feathers have no quills, or stalks, but cover their bodies with a gentle down, which have no hard nibs belonging to it.

Next follow the Orcades, lying scattered in the north of Scotland, partly in the Deucaledonian, and partly in the German seas. Concerning the name of them, writers, both ancient and modern, do well enough agree; but the reason of the name, no man that I know hath explained. Neither doth it appear who first possessed them: all say, that they were of a German original; but from what nation of Germany they say not: if we may form a conjecture from their speech, both heretofore and now, they use the Gothic language. Some think they were Picts, induced by this argument, that the sea, dividing them from Caithness, is called the Pentland (or Pictland) sea or frith. They judge also that the Picts themselves were of the race of the Saxons, grounding their opinion chiefly on the verses of Claudian, in his seventh Panegyric, which runs thus:

— Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The Orcades were moist with Saxon gore;
Warm with the blood of Picts, flow'd Thule's shore:
And whilst its head, each Scotchman's tomb appears,
Icy Juvæna all dissolves in tears.

But their error may easily be refuted, partly out of Bede the Anglo-Saxon, who affirming, that the Britons sung the praises of God in five several languages, reckons the Pictish to be one; but if the Picts had then spoken the Saxon language, he would not have distinguished it from the Saxon; (which then the English used, without corruption); and partly also, out of those very verses of Claudian, where he expressly declares, that the Picts were a different people from the Saxons; for he says, that the Orcades were the country of the Saxons, and Thule of the Picts. But whatsoever their original was, in this our age, they use a language different both from Scotch and English, but very near the Gothic. In their daily fare, the common people do as yet retain much of their ancient parsimony, and therefore they are sound in mind and healthy in body. Few of them die of diseases, but almost all of them of old age; and their ignorance of delights and pleasures contributes more to the maintaining of their health, than the skill and diligence of physicians doth to others. The same parsimony conduceth much, both to the elegance of their beauty, and the tallness of their stature. They have but a small increase of corn, except only of oats and barley; out of which they extract both bread and drink. Of animals which herd together, they have sheep, kine, and divers goats, so that they have abundance of milk, butter, and cheese among them: they have also an innumerable company of sea-fowl, of which, and of fishes, their diet for the most part, consists. There is no venomous creature there, no, nor any of a deformed and odious appearance. They have little horses, in shew contemptible, but strong enough for all uses, even beyond belief. They have never a tree growing, no, nor shrub neither, besides heath, which happens, not so much from the fault of the soil, or air, as the laziness of the inhabitants,

as doth easily appear by the roots of trees, which, in many places, are there digged out of the earth. As often as foreigners import wine thither, they drink it greedily, even to excess. They have an ancient cup, or goblet among them, which, to procure the greater authority to their carousings, they say, did belong to St Magnus, who first instructed them in the principles of the Christian religion. It so far exceeds the size of other drinking bowls, that it may seem to have been a relict of the feast of the Lapithæ. They try an experiment with it upon their bishops, at their first coming to them; he that can drink up a whole one, at one draught, (which seldom happens,) they count him a very nonsuch of a man; and do look upon it as a happy omen and presage, that the crops of the following years will be superabundant. From which practice of theirs, a man may easily conjecture, that their parsimony which I spoke of, proceeds not so much from reason and choice, as from penury and want; and the same necessity which produced it at first, perpetuated and transmitted it to their posterity; till the neighbour nations being corrupted by prevailing luxury, their ancient discipline was, by degrees, weakened and impaired, and they also gave up themselves to charming pleasures and delights; and being thus inclined to luxury, they were hurried on to it, by their commerce with pirates; who, not daring to land on the continent, because it was full of inhabitants, took in fresh water at these islands; and there either changed their wine, and other merchandise, for the provisions of the country; or else sold them to the islanders at a low price: and the islanders being few in number, and unarmed too, and dispersed also in the tempestuous sea, that they could not convene to assist one another, being conscious of their own weakness, either did receive, or at least did not reject security, brought home to their doors, especially it being mixed with gain and

pleasure to boot, which are its usual companions. But this pollution of manners did mostly infect the great ones, and the priests. Among the vulgar, many tokens of their former moderation do yet remain. The sea is there very raging and tempestuous; which is caused, not only by the violence of the winds, and the position of the heavenly constellations, but also by the meetings of contrary tides, raised up, and flowing in from the western ocean, and making such a conflict between the straits of the land, that the surges, occasioned thereby, sometimes meeting opposite one to another, and being all impetuously whirled together, cannot be passed, neither by oars nor sails. If any mariners dare come too near, one of these three mischiefs befalls them—they are either driven back, with a forcible violence, into the sea; or else, by the rapidity of the foaming waves, they are dashed upon shelves and rocks: or, lastly, are swallowed up by the roaring vortices of the engulfing waters. There are only two seasons wherein these straits are passable; either when, upon the falling back of the tides, the conflict of the waters ceasing, the sea is thereby calmed; or else when it comes, in a full channel, to the height of its increase at spring-tides, that force languishing on both sides, which raised and made the waters tempestuous and stormy; the ocean, as it were, sounding a retreat to its storms, and thereupon the mountainous surges do retire into their own proper caverns and recesses.

Moreover, authors do not agree concerning the number of the Orcades; Pliny reckons them to be forty; others about thirty: but Paulus Orosius comes nearest the truth; he makes them thirty-three, of which thirteen are inhabited; the rest not, but left to feed cattle. For many of them are low, and so narrow in compass, that if they should be tilled, they would scarce maintain above one farmer or two. Some of them shew either bare

rocks, or else such as are covered but with a rotten kind of black moss.

The largest isle of the Orcades is called by many of the ancients, Pomona; at this day they call it the Main-land, because it exceeds the rest so much in size, for it is thirty miles long; it is well inhabited, for it hath twelve parish churches, and one town besides; which the Danes, who were long masters of the Orcades, called Cracoviaca; we Scotchmen call it by a corrupt name, Kirkwall. In this town there are two castles of a reasonable size standing near together, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop. And between them is a church, magnificent enough for those places; between the church and the castles there are frequent buildings on both sides, which the inhabitants call two cities, one the king's, the other the bishop's. The whole isle runs out into promontories, between which the bays of the sea, making an influx, do afford safe anchoring for ships, and here and there a good port. In six several places of this island there are metals, *i. e.* white and black lead, so good, that there are not better in all Britain. This island is about twenty-four miles distant from Caithness; the Pictish Sea, called Pentland Frith, running between them, of whose nature we have spoken before.

In that narrow sea, there are many scattered islands, of which Stromoy, not unfruitful for the extent of it, is distant from Caithness but a mile; but they do not reckon that amongst the Orcades, because of its propinquity to the British shore, and because the Earls of Caithness have always been Lords of it. Sailing from hence, towards the north, we meet with South Ronalds, or Ronaldsay, the first of the Orcades, which is sixteen miles from Dunginsby-head. Skiffs and small ships pass over in two hours from it to this island, the tide being with them, though there be no wind, such is the violence of the current. This island is

five miles in length, and it hath a convenient port, surnamed St Margaret's Hope. A little eastward of it are two small islands, uninhabited, and left for cattle to pasture in. They call them, in their country-speech, the Holmes, that is, grassy plains, situated by water. To the north is the island Burra, and two Holmes between that and Main-land. From Burra, towards the west, there lie three islands in order, Suna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoia, and Valis or Waes-isle, which some make two, others but one island, because about both the equinoxes (at which times the sea doth most tempestuously foam and rage) the tide falling back, and the lands being bared, they stick together, and are joined by a narrow neck of land, and so make one island; but upon the return of the tide, and the sea coming afresh between them, they again represent the form of two. In this island are the highest mountains of all the Orcades. Hoia and Waes-isle are extended ten miles in length, and from Ronaldsay they are distant eight miles; from Duncansby or Dungsinsby, in Caithness, about twenty miles. On the north, is the island Granisa, situated in a very narrow arm of the sea; for Hoia is distant from the nearest promontory, which is that of Pomona, or Main-land, only two miles. These are the islands situated in the very streights, between Main-land and Caithness. The west side of Main-land looks to the open sea, no islands or rocks appearing there. From its east promontory, it runs a little out into the sea; Coupins-oy almost covers it on the north. Nearer the shore, is Siapins-oy, somewhat inclining to the east, situated over-against Kirk-wall, two miles distant, itself being six miles long. On the west part of Main-land lies Rows-oy, six miles in length. From thence towards the east stands Eglisa, or Eglis-oy, where fame reports that St Magnus was buried. From hence to the southward lie Wyer-oy and Gress-oy; and not far from

thence, Wester-oy, which is eighty miles distant from Shetland. Papa and Stronsa are also eighty miles distant from Shetland. Almost in the middle of the passage between them lies Fara, or Fair Isle, which is conspicuous and visible both from the Orkades, and from Shetland too; for it rises into three very high promontories, surrounded with lofty rocks, every way inaccessible, save that towards the north-east, it being a little lower, affords an harbour safe enough for small ships. The inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the fishermen, which sail that way every year, coming to fish from England, Holland, and other countries near the sea, do plunder and carry away what they please.

The next after this is the greatest of the Shetlandish islands, and therefore the inhabitants call it the Continent or Main-land. It is sixty miles in length, and in some places sixteen in breadth; it spreads itself into many small promontories: Two of them I shall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the north; the other broader, running to the south-east. The maritime parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the inward parts no animal comes but fowl. Some few years since, the inhabitants endeavoured to form plantations, farther than their ancestors had done, but the success did not answer. Their wealth is from the sea, for it lies convenient for fishing on every side.

Ten miles farther, towards the north, is the isle Zell, or Yell, above twenty miles long, and eight broad; so uncouth a place, that no creature can live therein, except such as are born there. A merchant of Bremen is reported to dwell in this island, who imports all sorts of foreign wares (which the inhabitants have need of) in great abundance. Between this island and Mainland lie these small islands, Linga, Orna, Bigga, Sanctferry. About nine miles beyond it, to the north, stands Yuist, extending above twenty miles in length, and six in breadth.

It is a plain and level soil ; neither is it any otherwise unsightly to the eye, but that it is surrounded with a very raging sea. Between this and Yell lies Via, Ura, Linga ; beyond it, towards the west, are the two Skenys, and Burra ; on the east is Balta, Honnega, Fotlara, or Pheodoroy, seven miles long, distant seven miles from Yuist, and eight from Yell ; it is over-against the streights which divide Yuist from Yell. Then many petty islands lie on the east side of the Main-land, as Mecla, the three eastern Skenys, Chualsa, or Whals-oy, Nostunda, Brasa, and Musa ; the west side is surrounded by the eastern Skenys, Rotti, Papa the Less, Vonnedea, Papa the Greater, Vallu, Trons isle, Burra, Hara the Greater, Hara the Less ; and amongst them lie intermingled almost as many holms, or plain islands, for pasturage only.

The Shetlanders live after the same manner as the islanders of the Orcades do, save that, as to their household provision, they are a little more hardy. Their apparel is after the German fashion, which, according to their abilities, is not uncomely. Their incomes arise from a sort of coarse cloath, which they sell to the Norwegians : as also from oil pressed out of the inwards of fishes, from their butter, and from their fisheries. They fish in small vessels of two oars, which they buy of the Norwegians. Part of the fish which they catch they salt, and part they dry in the wind. Out of these being sold, they raise a sum of money to pay their tribute, and to provide dwelling-houses, and household stuff ; and a great part of their food arises from thence also. They who study neatness in their domestic utensils, are accustomed to have some plate in their houses. They use measures, numbers, and weights after the German fashion. Their language is also German, or almost the ancient Gothic. They know not what it is to be drunk ; only every month they invite one another, and on those days they are innocently

merry and jocund, without those brawls and other vices which are occasioned by drunkenness ; for they persuade themselves that this custom contributes much for the maintaining of mutual friendship.—The firmness of their health appeared in one named Laurence in our age, who, after he was an hundred years old, married a wife. And when he was an hundred and forty, he used to fish with his skiff, even in a very rough and raging sea. He died but lately, not by the shock of any grievous disease, but only by the infirmities and languishings of old age.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE ANCIENT NAMES, MANNERS, LAWS,
AND CUSTOMS OF THE COUNTRY, AND WHAT PEOPLE
INHABITED THE ISLAND FROM THE VERY BEGINNING.

WHEN I endeavoured to retrieve the memory of British affairs, for above two thousand years past, many impediments offered in bar to my design ; amongst which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no monuments of learning in those countries, from which the knowledge of our original was to be derived ; and when letters came, though but late, into use, they were almost nipped in the very bud ; for I may safely affirm, that all the nations which hitherto have seated themselves in Britain, came thither from Gaul, Spain, and Germany. The Gauls first of all received the characters of letters from the Marsellian Greeks, by which they used to make up their accounts, and to send letters one to another. Alphabets, or the figures which every letter bore, were Greek ; but the language was Gallic. But

they did not commit their laws, and the rites of their religion, to writing, no, not in Julius Cæsar's time; and much less did they record their exploits, which yet, it is probable, were very great. Those things which they either did or suffered in Italy, Germany, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia, had been buried likewise in the same oblivion, so that posterity would never have come to the knowledge of them, if foreign writers had not recorded and transmitted them down to us. I confess, in Spain the Greeks had the use of letters; and before them, the Phœnicians who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean sea; but of the Barbarians, only the Turdetani, as Strabo writes, had any knowledge of them. But as for any ancient writer, there was yet none that I know of. For Varro, Pliny, and other Latin authors, who touched any thing, by the by, concerning the first inhabitants of Spain, confirm their opinions therein, rather by bare conjectures, than the testimony of writers. In that part of Britain which Cæsar visited, there were no ancient records at all; and among the farther inland inhabitants, which were still more barbarous, they were much less to be expected. So that when he asked them concerning the origin of their nation, and its most ancient inhabitants, as he writes, they returned him no certain answer at all.

After Cæsar, Cornelius Tacitus, an author both faithful and diligent, though the Roman navy had then coasted about Britain, and had discovered all its inmost roads and recesses, could however find out nothing of certainty, nothing that he would venture to transmit to posterity. Moreover, Gildas, who lived about 400 years after Tacitus, affirms, that what he writes was not from any monuments of antiquity, of which he could find none at all, but from reports abroad, that he gathered beyond sea. As for Germany, that country was furnished with learning last of all; but seeing that she

had nothing to produce out of old records, which could be avouched for truth, according to her wonted ingenuity in other cases, she coined no fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the world. So then, they who affirm that they deduce the original of the Britons from old annals, must first tell us, who was the author or discoverer of those annals; as also, where they have been concealed so long; and how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many ages. In this case, some fly to the bards and sanachies, as the preservers of ancient records, but very ridiculously; which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what kind of men those were, to whom they would have credit to be given, in matters of so great moment, and those so obscure too, and so remote from our memory. First Strabo and Ammianus describe to us very plainly what the bards were, both before, and also in their times. But Lucan doth it clearly and distinctly enough for our present purpose, in these verses:

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum, Vates, demittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, *Bardi*.

Ye Bards, such valiant souls as fall in war,
Perpetuate with rhymes, and praises rare.

But the very oldest of them were altogether ignorant of letters, neither did they leave any records of ancient matters behind them.

The other were bardlings or sanachies, (as they call them), which were maintained by the chiefs of the ancient clans, and by some wealthy men besides, one a-piece, on purpose to commemorate their ancestors and first of their families, in genealogies which they got by heart. But these, too, having no learning at all, let any man judge what credit is to be given to them, whose hopes and substance did totally depend upon soothing and flattering others.

Besides, though all that they delivered were most true, yet small would be the advantage to the writer of an history. Lastly, let us consider, how often the writers of such famous deeds as are past, are found in manifest mistakes; how often they themselves waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a loss; how vastly some of them differ, not only from others, but even from themselves. If such errors are incident even to those who seek after truth with great labour and study, what can we hope for from such other persons, who being without learning (by which they who casually mistake, may be better informed, and those who mistake on purpose, may be confronted), depend wholly upon their memory? I might allege, that the memory is oftentimes impaired by disuse; it is weakened by age; or wholly lost by some disease. Besides, if they study chiefly to please their patrons, (which is commonly the case), or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to cross them; or, if the passions of anger, hatred, or envy intervene, (which pervert the judgment), who can affirm any thing for truth upon such mens authorities? Or, who would take the pains to refute it, though false? Or, who would deliver down for certain, what he received from such uncertain authors? Wherefore, where the old writers are so generally silent concerning matters of antiquity, who were often so egregiously ignorant, even of things acted in their own times, that nothing can certainly be grounded upon them, I count it more modest to be silent in what one knows not, than by devising falsehoods to betray one's own confidence, in prejudice of other mens judgment.

It follows then, that there was so great a scarcity of writers amongst all the nations of Britons, that, before the coming in of the Romans, all things were buried in the profound darkness of an universal silence; in so much that we can get no information of what was acted, even by the Romans themselves,

otherwise than from Greek and Latin monuments; and as for those things which preceded their coming, we may rather believe their conjectures, than our own fictions. For what our writers have delivered, every one concerning the original of his own sept or nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my time lost to go about to refute it, were there not some who delighted in such fables, as if they were as true as gospel, and took a pride to deck themselves with borrowed feathers.

Moreover, the disagreement of later writers makes a great accession to the difficulty of this task; for they deliver such repugnancies, that a man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is so much absurdity amongst them, that all of them seem to deserve no other notice but that of contempt. Neither do I so much wonder at the silence of the ancients in a matter so obscure, or the disagreements among later writers in feigning falsehoods, as I do at the agreeing impudence of some few; for they write of those times in which all things were dubious and uncertain, with so much positiveness and confidence, as if their design was rather to tickle the reader's ear, than to shew the least regard to truth in their narratives.

For in those early times, when the use of tillage was not common, neither among the Britons, nor many other nations, but all their wealth consisted in their cattle, men had no regard to other substance, which was very small, but often changed their habitations, being either expelled by such as were more powerful than themselves; or, they themselves drove out the weaker; or else they sought out better pasture for their cattle in wild and desert places; upon one or other of these grounds they easily changed their dwellings; and the places they removed to, soon got new names with their new masters. Besides, the ambition of the wealthier sort helped much to perplex the accounts of things, who, to

perpetuate their memory to posterity, called countries, provinces, and towns by their own names. Almost all the cities in Spain had two names; the names of the inhabitants, and also of the cities and countries therein received frequent alterations. Not to speak of Egypt, Greece, and other remote countries.

Sæpius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.

Fair Italy (says Fame)
Full oft hath chang'd her name.

Add hereunto, that those nations who live in the same country, have not always the same names. That which the Latins call Hispania; the Greeks, Iberia; the poets, Hesperia; St Paul, in his epistles, Theodoret and Sozomen, in their history, called Spania, *i. e.* Spain. The name of the Greeks, so celebrated by the Latins, and all nations of Europe, is more obscure than the Greeks themselves. The Hebrews and Arabians keep their old appellations of almost all nations, which were never so much as heard of by other people. Scotch and English are the common names of the British nations, which, at this day, are almost unknown to the ancient Scots and Britons; for they call the one Albines, the other Saxons. And therefore it is no wonder, if, in so great an uncertainty of human affairs, writers, who were born at several times, far distant one from another, and having different languages, and manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves in the names of persons and places. Though these things have occasioned difficulties great enough to the searchers after the first originals of nations; yet some of the moderns too, being actuated by a principle of ambition, have involved all things in most thick and palpable darkness. For, whilst every one would fetch the original of his nation as high as he could, and so endeavour to ennoble it by devised

fables, by this immoderate licence of coining fictions, what do they but obscure that which they ought to illustrate? And if at any time they speak truth, yet, by their frequent and ridiculous untruths, at other times, they detract from their own credit; and are so far from obtaining that esteem which they hoped for, that, by reason of their falsehoods, they are laughed at even by those whom they endeavoured to cajole into an assent.

To make this plain, I will begin, as with the ancientest nation, so from the most notorious and impudent falsehood. The compilers of a new history of the ancient Britons, having interpolated the fable of the Danaïdes, feign, that one Dioclesian, king of Syria, begat thirty-three daughters on his wife Labana; who killing their husbands on their wedding night, their father crouded them all together into one ship, without any master or sailors; who, arriving in Britain, then but a desert, did not only live solitarily in that cold country, on a few wild fruits; but also, by the compression of Cacodæmons, forsooth, they brought forth giants, whose race continued till the arrival of Brutus. They say the island was called Albion from Albine, and that Brutus was the great-grandson of Æneas the Trojan, and the son of Æneas Sylvius. This Brutus having accidentally killed his father with a dart, it was looked upon as a lamentable and piteous fact by all men; yet, because it was not done on purpose, the punishment of death was remitted, and banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily chosen by him. This parricide having consulted the oracle of Diana, and having run various hazards through so many lands and seas, after ten years arrived in Britain, with a great number of followers; and by many combats having conquered the terrible giants in Albion, he gained the empire of the whole island. He had three sons, (as they proceed to state,) Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, between whom the island was divided. Albanactus ruled over the Al-

bans, afterwards called Scots; Camber over the Cambrians, *i. e.* the Welsh: they both governed their respective kingdoms so, as that Locrinus had the supreme dominion; who, being ruler of the rest of the Britons, gave the name of * Loegria to his part. Later writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous empire as much as they could, add, that Vendelina succeeded her father Locrinus; Madanus, Vendelina; Menpricius, Madanus; and Ebrancus, Menpricius; which latter, of twenty wives begat as many sons, of whom nineteen went over into Germany, and by force of arms conquered that country, being assisted by the forces of their kinsman, Alba Sylvius; and from those brothers the country was called Germany. These are the things which the old Britons, and after them, some of the English, have delivered concerning the first inhabitants of Britain.

Here I cannot but stand amazed at their design, who might easily, and without any reflection at all, have imitated the Athenians, Arcadians, and other famous nations, and have called themselves *indigenæ*, seeing it would have been no disgrace to them to own that origin, which the noblest and wisest city in the whole world counted her glory; especially, since that opinion could not be refuted out of ancient writers, and had no mean assertors; yet, that they had rather forge ancestors to themselves, from the refuse of all nations, whom the very series of the narration itself did make suspected, even to the unskilful vulgar; and which none of the ancients, no, not by the least suspicion, did confirm. Besides, if that had not pleased them, seeing it was free for them to have assumed honourable ancestors to themselves, out of any old book which some of the poets have written; I wonder in my heart what was in their minds, to make choice

* An old name for England.

of such, of whom all their posterity might justly be ashamed. For what great folly is it, to think nothing illustrious or magnificent but what is profligate or flagitious? Yet some there are, that pride themselves, among the ignorant, upon the score of such fables. As for John Annius, a man, I grant, not unlearned, I think he may be pardoned, seeing poets claim a liberty to celebrate the original of families and nations, with the mixture of figments; but I cannot think it reasonable to allow the same privilege to those who undertake professedly to write an history.

To return, then, to what I was saying: What is more abhorrent from all belief, than that a few girls, without the help of men to manage their vessel, should come from Syria, through so many seas, (which voyage, even now a-days, when men have attained, by use and custom, more skill in navigation, is yet hazardous, though with a brave and well-furnished navy), to the end, as it were, of the world, and into a desolate island too; and there to live without corn or fruits of trees? nay, that such ladies of a royal stock should not only barely maintain their lives, in so cold a climate, destitute of all things, but also should bring forth giants; and that their copulations, or marriages, might not seem unsuitable to their state, that they were got with child (would you think it?) by Cacadæmons? As for that Dioclesian, pray, at what time, and in what part of Syria did he reign? How comes it to pass, that authors make no mention of him, especially since the affairs of no nation are more diligently transmitted to posterity, than those of the Syrians? How came he to be called Dioclesian?—by a name which took its rise a thousand years after him, amongst the Barbarians, originally Greek, but declined after the Latin form?

The next accession of nobility, forsooth, is Bru-

tus, the parricide, that he might not, in that respect, be inferior to Romulus. This Brutus, whatsoever he were, whom the Britons make the author of their name and nation, with what forces, with what correspondent language, could he penetrate so far into Britain? especially in those times, when the Roman arms, even in the most flourishing state of their commonwealth, having conquered almost all the world besides, could scarce succeed: For it is needless to mention, how, before Rome was built, the affairs of Italy were at a very low ebb; and how the inhabitants thereof were averse to all peregrination and travel. Neither need I inquire, whether he came by land, or sea? The Alps, till that time, were passable only to Hercules; and the Gauls, by reason of their natural fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with the converse of foreigners. As for sea-voyages, the Carthaginians and the Greeks, inhabiting Marseilles, scarce dared to venture into the ocean, but very late, and when things were well settled at home; and, even then, their voyages were rather for discovery, than conquest; much less can we believe, that Alban shepherds, a wildish sort of people, would undertake so bold an adventure. Besides, all men, who are not ignorant of Latin, do know, that the name of Brutus began to be celebrated under Tarquinius Superbus, almost five hundred years after that commentitious Brutus; when Lucius Junius, a nobleman, laying aside his native grandeur, condescended to do things far below himself, on purpose to avoid the cruelty of their kings; and, on pretence of being foolish, he took that new surname to himself, and transmitted it to his posterity. But the monk who was the forger and deviser of this fable of Brutus, seemed to see the absurdity of the invention himself; yea, he thought to stop all men's mouths with the pretence of religion, forsooth, in the case, and would have every body think, that they obeyed the oracle of Diana.

Here I will not be nice in inquiring why this oracle of Diana was so unknown to posterity, when the oracles of Faunus, of Sibylla, and the Prænestine lots, were then in so great credit.

I will only ask, in what language did Diana answer? If they say, in Latin: I demand, how Brutus could understand a language, which began nine hundred years after his time? For, since Horace, a very learned man, doth ingenuously confess, that he did not understand the Saliar rhymes, which were made in the reign of Numa Pompilius, how could that Brutus, who died so many years before the priests called Salii were instituted, understand verses, made long after Horace's time, as the tenor of their composure doth shew? Besides, how could the posterity of Brutus so totally forget the Latin tongue, that not the least footsteps of it should remain amongst them? And whence got they that language which they now use? Or, if it be granted, that their (supposed) gods, as well as their men, then spoke British in Italy, yet surely it was not the tongue the Britons now make use of; for that is so patched up of the languages of the neighbour nations, that several countries may know and own their own words upon the first hearing. But if they say, that those ancient Latins spoke British, how could that monk understand so old an oracle, which was given out 2000 years before? But why do I prosecute these things so particularly, since it appears by many other arguments also, that the same monk forged this whole story, and begat such a Brutus (in his own brain) as never was in nature; and also devised the oracle of Diana too? I shall add the verses themselves, that the vanity of such cunning sophisters may be set in the fullest light.

BRUTUS'S ADDRESS TO THE ORACLE.

*Diva, potens nemorum, terror silvestribus apri,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,*

*Infernasque domos : terrestria jura resolve,
 Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
 Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,
 Qua tibi virginæis templa dicabo choris.*

*Goddess of groves, and wild boars chase,
 Who dost th' ethereal mansions trace,
 And Pluto's too; resolve this doubt,
 Tell me what country to find out,
 Where I may fix, where temples raise,
 For virgin-choirs to sing thy praise.*

THE ORACLE's ANSWER.

Diana answers in verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same poet), not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or, such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous ones, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, viz. the empire of the whole world.

*Brute, sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,
 Insula in Oceano est, undique cincta mari;
 Insula in Oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
 Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.
 Hanc pete; namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis;
 Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis.
 Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et ipsis
 Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.*

*Beyond proud Gallia's wide-extended lines,
 Where sets the sun, but large its glory shines;
 An isle does in the circling ocean stand,
 And giants once inhabited the land;
 Now desolate, it wants a regal guest,
 And courts thy people to a seat of rest.
 Go, Brutus, go, and make that realm thy own,
 Where endless empire greets thee to the throne;
 There thy long offspring shall behold, with joy,
 A rising nation, and a second Troy;
 And to that height promote their scepter'd sway,
 The vanquish'd world shall willingly obey.*

I suppose, by these verses, compared with their histories, the whole forgery will be discovered, and that plainly enough. For, besides the vain pro-

mises on both sides, the rhymes say, that the island was not then inhabited, but desolate, but that it had been inhabited before. But where, I pray then, were those portentous figments of Gogmagog and Tentagol, and other frightful names of men, invented for terror, (shall I say), or for laughter, rather? what will become of those doughty combats of Corinaeus, and others, the companions of Brutus, against, not the earth-born, but hell-born giants? Thus far concerning Brutus and his oracle.

Though these be so great fictions, yet posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, but a few years ago, no mean writer amongst them impudently feigned, that the Trojans spoke the British language. Homer and Dionysius Hallicarnassus very easily refute the vanity of this shameless opinion: for the one gives Greek names to all the Trojans; the other, in a long and serious disputation, maintains, that the Trojans were originally Greeks. I pass by this consideration, how Brutus, when he arrived in England with no great train, could, within the space of twenty years, establish three kingdoms; and how they, who, all of them put together at first, could scarce make up the number of one mean colony, should, in so short a time, people an island, the largest in the whole world, and furnish it, not only with villages and cities, but with all that belongs to three kingdoms also; nay, who a while after, it seems, grew so numerous, that Britain could not contain them, but they were forced to transport themselves into the large country of Germany; where, overcoming the inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own name, which was not a British, but a Latin one; and so from those nineteen brothers, forsooth, (which indeed were not properly own brothers, as we say, for almost every one of them had a several mother), that the country should be called Germany. I have related this fable, as absurd as it

is, not to take the pains to refute it, but to leave it to the Germans themselves for sport and ridicule.

This in general concerning the fables of the Britons. But the intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me ; for that monstrous fiction of devils lying with virgins, seems to have this tendency, viz. that they might either prove an alliance between their Brutus, and two of the greatest neighbouring nations ; or else, that they might vie with them in the nobility of their original. For the Gauls affirmed, (as Cæsar hath it), that they were decended from father Pluto ; and so did the Germans, according to Tacitus. The cause of devising this figment, concerning Brutus, seems to be alike. For seeing the Buthrotii in Epirus, several people in Sicily ; the Romans, Campanians, and Sulmonenses in Italy ; the Arverni, Hedui, Sequani, and last of all, the Franks in Gaul, celebrated, I know not what, Trojans as their founders ; the writers of British affairs thought it likewise very conducive to the advancement of the nobility of their nation, if they derived its original too from the very archives of antiquity, and especially from the Trojans ; either because of the renown of that city, which was praised by almost all nations ; or else, by reason of its alliance with so many nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the same common shipwreck of that one town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of an effrontery in the falsehood, if they partook a little of the (feigned) nobility, which grew, by the same artifice, common to so many nations, besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the fiction of Brutus, and other fables of an older date, which were as impudently devised, as they were foolishly received ; of all which it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the vanity, to put the reader in mind, that they were unknown to ancient writers ; that when learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad ; that they

were coined in its decay, recorded by unlearned flatterers, and entertained by ignorant and too credulous persons, who did not understand the frauds of such deluding authors. For such is the disposition of those impostors, who do not seek the public good by a true history, but some private advantage by flattery, that when they seem highly to praise, then they most of all deride and jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the nobility of a people, for its greater splendour, fetch it from the scum and riff-raff of nature? And yet credulous, (shall I say ?) or rather sottish persons, pride themselves in a pretended eminency of an original, for which none of their neighbours will envy them.

Those who have written the Scottish affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble origin, as they think, but no less fabulous than that of the Britons. For they have adopted ancestors to us, not from the Trojan fugitives, but from those Greek heroes, whose posterity conquered Troy. For seeing, in those ancient times, two nations of the Greeks were most of all celebrated, the Dorians and the Ionians, and the princes of the Dorians were the Argives; and of the Ionians, the Athenians; the Scots make one Gathelus to be the chief founder of their nation; but whether he were the son of Argus, or of Cecrops, that they leave in doubt: and that they may not be inferior, on this account, to the eminency of the Romans, they have added to him a strong band of robbers, with which he going into Egypt, performed gallant exploits, and after the departure (would you think it?) of Moses, was made general of the king's forces in that land: and that afterwards, with his wife Scota, the daughter of the king of Egypt, he sailed about the whole coast of Europe, adjacent to the Mediterranean sea; and having passed through so many countries, which were desolate in that age, or else

inhabited by a few, and in few places, as Greece, Italy, France, and the whole coast of Africa, (not to mention the numerous islands of the Mediterranean sea), some will have him to land at the mouth of the river Iberus; but leaving that country which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to Galæcia, a country much more barren. Some land him at the mouth of the river Durus, being the first of all men, as I suppose, who adventured into the ocean with a navy of ships; and that there he built a brave town, which is now called from his name Portus Gatheli, or Port-a-Port; whence the whole country, which from Lusus and Lusa, the children of Bacchus, was a long time called Lusitania, began to be called Portugal; and afterwards being forced to pass into Galæcia, he there built Brigantia, now called Compostella; also that Braga in Portugal was built by him, at the mouth of the river Munda.

These are the things which the Scots have fabulously written concerning the original of their nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumspect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give so much as a Greek name to that Grecian Gathelus, who was indeed unknown to the Greek writers; that they allotted a Latin name, from the word Portus, to the city built by him, rather than a Greek one, especially in those times, when Italy itself was known to very few of the Greeks; that they doubt whether he were the son of Argus, or of Cécrops; seeing Argus lived almost an hundred years before Cécrops. That he, who had arrived at such a figure by his prudence, even amongst the most ingenious persons in the world, as to enjoy the next place to the king, and to be put in the room of Moses after his departure; and besides being a stranger, to be honoured with the marriage of the king's daughter; that he, I say, leaving the fruitfulness of the region in the world, and passing by the

lands of both continents, both to the right and left, and also so many islands all fruitful in corn, and some of them also famous for the temperature of the air, as Crete, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, (which at that time were rather possessed than cultivated, by a wild sort of people), should launch out into the main ocean, the very name whereof was formidable, especially since men had then but small skill in maritime affairs ; or, that he built the city of Gathelus, or Port-a-Port, at the river Duero, the name of which city was never heard of till the Saracens obtained the dominion of Portugal ; also, that he built Braga, at the mouth of the river Munda, seeing there is so many miles distance between Braga and Munda ; two famous rivers also lying betwixt them, viz. Duero, and Vouga, or Vaca ; and Braga itself being not altogether a maritime place. Moreover, I may well ask, how Gathelus, a Grecian, born of a noble family, and, besides, eminent for famous deeds, seeing he was of a most ambitious nation, to commend his name to posterity, after he had been conveyed with a great train into the extreme parts of the world, and, as matters then stood, almost rude and barbarous, having built towns, did not give them his own, no, not so much as one Greek name ? For the name of Portugal, or (as some will have it), the Port of Gathel, being unknown to so many ancient writers, who have professedly undertaken to describe the names of countries and places, began to be celebrated but about four hundred years ago. And the silence of all the Greeks and Latins, concerning the coming of Gathelus into Spain, makes it much suspected, especially since the ancients make notable and frequent mention of the Phoenicians, Persians, Carthaginians, Iberians, Gauls, and of the companions of Hercules and Bacchus, who came into that country. But our fablers (as I judge) never read the monuments of the ancients ; for if they had, seeing it

was free for them to assume an author and founder of their nation and nobility, out of any of the famous Grecians, they would never have picked up an ignobler person for their founder; passing by Hercules and Bacchus, who were famous amongst all nations, and whom they might have culled out, as well as any other, for the original of their race.

These are the things which our writers have generally delivered, concerning the rise of our nation; which, if I have prosecuted more largely than was necessary, it is to be imputed to those who pertinaciously defended them, as a * Palladium dropt down from heaven. He that considers that, will, no doubt, by reason of the obstinacy of my adversaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other nations, which came later into these islands, and fixed their habitations there, Picts, Saxons, Danes, Normans, because their history doth not contain any monstrous absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a more proper place.

But these two nations which I have mentioned, seem to me to have deduced their origin from the Gauls, and I will give you the reasons of this my judgment, when I have first premised a few things, concerning the ancient customs of the Gauls. All Gaul, though it be fruitful in corn, yet it is said to be, and, indeed, is more fruitful in men; so that, as Strabo relates, there were three hundred of the Celtæ only who were able to bear arms, though they inhabited but a third part of France; therefore, though they lived in a fruitful country, yet, being overburdened by their own multitudes, it is probable, that, for the lessening of them, they were permitted to use masculine venery. Yet when, by this expedient, there seemed not provision enough

* Palladium, properly the image of Pallas in Troy, which, as long as they kept in her temple, Troy could not be taken, as the Trojans thought: but when Ulysses stole it away, then they were soon destroyed by the Greeks.

made against the penury of their soil, their children being still too numerous and burdensome, sometimes by public edicts, and sometimes by private resolutions, they sent out many colonies into all the neighbouring countries, that their multitudes at home might be exhausted.

To begin with Spain: They sent their colonies so thick thither, that Ephorus, as Strabo relates, extends the length of Gaul even to the Gades, or Cadiz; and, indeed, all that side of Spain towards the north, by the names of the people and nations inhabiting them, hath long witnessed a French original. The first we meet with, are the Celtiberi.

—Profugique a gente vetusta
Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.

The wandering Celts in Spain their dwellings fix'd,
And with Iberians there their names they mix'd.

These propagated their bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy country, and besides, not over-fruitful, yet Marcus Marcellus exacted from them six hundred talents, as a tribute. Moreover, from the Celtæ, or Celtiberi, the Celtici derive their original, dwelling by the river Anas, by Ptolemy surnamed Betici; and also other Celts in Portugal, near to the river Anas; and if we may believe Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, the Celts do inhabit from the mouth of the river Duero, as far as the promontory, which they call Celticum or Nerium, *i. e.* Capo Finis Terræ, (Cape Finisterre), but distinguished by their surnames, viz. the Gronii, Præ-samarci, Tamarici, Nerii, and the rest of the Gallæci, which names shew their original to be Gauls. On the other side, there passed out of France into Italy, the Ligurians, the Libui, the Salassii, the Insubres, the Cenomani, the Boii, and the Senones; and, if we may believe some ancient writers, the

Veneti. I need not relate how large dominions these nations had in Italy, because, every person who is the least versed in history, cannot be ignorant in that point; neither will I be too scrupulous in enquiring what troops of Gauls made their seats in Thrace; or, leaving it, having subdued Macedonia and Greece, passed into Bythinia, where they erected the kingdom of Gallo-Græcia in Asia; since that matter doth not much concern our present purpose.

My discourse then hastens to Germany; and concerning the Gaulish colonies therein, we have most authentic evidences, C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus. The first of them, in his commentaries of the Gallic war, writes, that at one certain period of time the Gauls were esteemed more valiant than the Germans; and therefore that the Tectosages possessed the most fruitful part of Germany about the Hercynian forest; and the Bohemians, as the other affirms, shew plainly by their names, that their founders were the Boii. And sometimes the Helvetians possessed the nearer places between the rivers Maine and Rhine, also the Decumates beyond the Rhine, were of Gallic original, and the Gothini near the Danow, whom Claudian calls Gothunni; Arrianus, in the life of Alexander, calls them Getini; and Flavius Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, Gautunni. But Claudian reckons even the Gothunni amongst the Getæ; and Stephanus is of opinion, that the Getes are called Getini, by Ammianus; so that perhaps the Getes themselves may acknowledge a Gallic original; it being certain, that many Gallic nations passed over into Thrace, and resided there in that circuit which the Getes are said to have possessed. Tacitus also writes, that, in his time, the Gothini used the Gallic language; besides, the Cimbri, as Philemon says, and, if we believe Tacitus, the Æstiones, dwelling by the Swedish sea, where they gather amber, did speak

British, which language was then the same with the Gallic, or not much different from it. Many are the signs and marks of Gallic colonies, through all Germany, which I would willingly recite, but that which I have already alleged is enough for my purpose, viz. to shew how widely France extended her colonies round about Britain.

What then shall we say of Britain itself, which did not equal those nations in greatness, nor strength, nor skill in military affairs? What did she, that was so near to the valiantest of the Gauls, and not inferior to the neighbouring nations, either in the mildness of the air, or the fruitfulness of the soil? Did she, I say, entertain no foreign colonies? Yes, many, as Cæsar and Tacitus affirm; and, as I hold, all her ancient inhabitants were such. For it is manifest, that three sorts of people did in times of old possess the whole island, the Britons, Picts, and Scots; of which I will discourse in their proper order.

To begin, then, with the Britons, whose dominion was of largest extent in Albium. The first that I know who hath discovered any certainty concerning them, was C. Julius Cæsar. He thinks, that the inmost inhabitants were *indigenæ*, because, after diligent inquiry, he could find nothing of their first coming thither; neither had they any monuments of learning, whence he could receive any information. He says, that the maritime parts of the island were possessed by the Belgæ, whom hopes of prey had allured thither, and the fruitfulness of the soil, and mildness of the air, had detained there. He thinks this a sufficient argument to confirm his opinion, that many did retain the names of the cities whence they came, and that their building were like those of the Gauls.

Cornelius Tacitus, an author of great credit, adds, that their manners are not alike, and that they are equally bold in running into dangers, and equally in a dread, and quite at a loss how to get out of

them ; that there were great factions and sidings among them both ; and, lastly, that Britain, in his time, was in the same state as Gaul was, before the coming of the Romans. Pomponius Mela adds farther, that the Britons used to fight on horseback, in chariots and coaches, in French armour. Add to this, that Bede, who lived before all those who have written such fabulous things of the origin of the Britons, and is of greater authority than all of them together, affirms, that the first inhabitants of the island came out of the track of Armorica. Some dramatists of the Greeks differ much from the above-mentioned authors ; for they say, that the Britons received their names from Britannus, the son of Celto. They assuredly agree in this, that they would be thought to derive their original from the Gauls. Of the later authors, Robertus Cænalis, and Pomponius Lætus in the life of Dioclesian, (an author not to be despised) subscribe to this opinion ; both of them, as I suppose, being convinced by the power of truth. Yet both seem to me to mistake in this point, that they deduce them from the peninsula of the Britons, which is now called Brittany, on the river Loire, especially since the maritime colonies of Britain, as Cæsar observes, testify by their very names from what place they were transplanted.

It follows, that we speak of the Gallic colonies sent into Ireland. I shewed before, that all the north side of Spain was possessed by Gallic colonies. And there are many reasons to be assigned, why they might pass out of Spain into Ireland : for, either the nearness of the country, and easiness of the passage, might be a great inducement ; or else, the Spaniards might be expelled out of their habitations by the excessive power and domination of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Grecians ; who, having overcome the Spaniards, rendered them weak and obnoxious to their oppression and vio-

lence. Moreover, there might be causes amongst the Spaniards themselves; for they being a people packed together, and made up of many nations, and not well agreeing among themselves; the desire of liberty, and of avoiding servitude, in the midst of civil wars and new tumults, arising amongst a people that was greedy of war, might make them willing to separate: he that weighs these causes of their departure, will not wonder, if many of them did prefer a mean condition abroad, joined with liberty, before a domestic and bitter slavery; and when they once arrived there, the state of Spain growing daily more and more turbulent, made them willing to continue where they were; for sometimes the Carthaginians, and sometimes the Romans, made the conquered Spaniards taste all the miseries of a servile life, and so compelled them to avoid those evils by a flight into Ireland; there being no other neighbour nation into which, either in their prosperity they might so well transport their crouds of people; or else, where, in adversity, they could find shelter against their calamities. Besides, the clemency of the air was one occasion of their stay; for, as Cæsar says, the air of Britain is more temperate than that of France. And Ireland exceeds both in goodness of soil, and also in an equal temperature of the air and climate. And what is still more, when men, born and educated in a barren soil, and given to laziness besides, as all Spaniards are, had the happiness of being transplanted into almost the richest pastures of all Europe, no wonder they willingly withdrew themselves from home-bred tumults, into the bosom of a peace beyond sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, yet I would not refuse the opinion of any nation concerning their ancestors, provided it was supported by probable conjectures, and ancient testimony.

For Tacitus, upon sure conjectures, as he thinks, affirms, that the west side of Britain, or Albium,

was inhabited by the posterity of the Spaniards. But it is not probable, that the Spaniards should leave Ireland behind them, being a country nearer, and of a milder air and soil, and first land in Albium; but rather that they first arrived in Ireland, and from thence transplanted their colonies into Britain. And that the same thing happened to the Scots, all their annals do testify, and Bede, Lib. I. doth affirm. For all the inhabitants of Ireland were first called Scots, as Orosius shews; and our annals relate, that the Scots passed more than once out of Ireland into Albium: first of all, under Fergusius, the son of Ferchard, being their captain; and after some ages, being expelled from thence, they returned into Ireland, and again, under their general Reutharus, they returned into Britain. And afterwards, in the reign of Fergusius II., great aids of Irish-Scots were sent hither, who had their quarters assigned them in Galloway. And Claudian in his time shews, that auxiliaries were carried over from thence in transports against the Romans; for he says,

— Totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

The Scot all Ireland did excite,
To cross the seas, 'gainst Rome to fight.

And in another place,

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Whole heaps of Scots cold Ireland did lament.

But in the beginning, when both people, *i. e.* the inhabitants of Ireland, and their colonies sent into Albium, were called Scots, that there might be some distinction betwixt them, some Scots were called Irish Scots, others Albin Scots; and, by degrees, their surnames came to be their only names; so that

the ancient name of Scots was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common speech, but only from books and annals. As for the name of Picts, I judge it not their ancient and country name, but occasionally given them by the Romans, because their bodies were printed and painted with artful incisions, which the verses of Claudian do shew.

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotunique vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

He, nimble Moors and painted Picts did tame,
With far-stretch'd sword the Scots he overcame,
Did with bold oars the northern waves divide.—

And elsewhere,

*Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas,
Perlegit exanimis, Picto moriente, figuras.*

The legion came the utmost Britons guard,
Which the fierce Scot did curb with bridle hard;
And read the marks i' th' skins of dying Picts,
Insculpt with iron.

Herodian also makes mention of the same nation, but conceals their name, and says plainly, that they did paint their bodies; but he doth not affirm, that they did it with iron: neither (says he) are they acquainted with the use of apparel, but they wear iron round their belly and their neck, thinking that metal to be an ornament and sign of riches; as the other barbarians do gold. Farther, they have likewise a way of marking their bodies with variety of pictures, and with animals of all shapes, and therefore they will put on no garments lest they should hide their pictures. What name they called themselves by, in a thing so ancient, it is hard to determine. It is certain, the neighbouring nations do not agree concerning their name; for the

Britons call them Pictiades ; the English, Pichti ; the old Scots, Peachti. And besides, the names of some places, which were heretofore under the jurisdiction of the Picts, but are now possessed by the Scots, seem to infer a different appellation from them all. For the hills called Pentland-hills, and the Pentland-bay, or frith, seem to be derived from Penthus, not from Pictus. But, I verily believe, those names were imposed, in after-times, either by the English, or else by the Scots, who used the English tongue ; for the ancient Scots did neither understand nor use them. As for the name of Picts, whether the Romans translated a barbarous word into a Latin one of a near sound ; or, whether the Barbarians applied a Latin word, every one to his own country tone and declension, it is all a case to me. Well, then, being agreed of the name, and it being confessed by all writers, that they came from the eastern parts into Britain ; from Scythia, say some ; from Germany, say others ; it remains, that tracing their footsteps by conjectures, we come as near the truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer foundation of my disquisition, than that which is grounded on the painting of bodies. Now, this painting was used by the Britons, the Aarii in Germany, and the Agathyrsi : but that they might appear more terrible to the enemy in war, they painted only with the juice of herbs. But seeing the Picts marked their skins with iron, and decorated them with the pictures of divers animals, the best way will be to inquire, what nations, either in Scythia, Germany, or the neighbouring countries, did use that custom of painting their bodies, not for terror, but ornament. And, first, we meet in Thracia with the Geloni, according to Virgil, of whom Claudian speaks in his first book against Rufinus :

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse, Gelonus.

The Geloni love to print
Their limbs with iron instrument.

We meet also with the Getæ in Thrace, mentioned by the same poet ;

Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum
Curia, quos plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.

Skin-wearing Getes consult, with hair unshorn,
Whose marked bodies, num'rous scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the Geloni, as Virgil writes, are neighbours to the Getes, and either the Gothunni, or Getini, according to Arrianus, are numbered amongst the Getes ; and seeing the Gothunni, as Tacitus says, speak the Gælic language ; what hinders but that we may believe the Picts had their original from thence ?

But, from whatsoever province of Germany they came, I think it very probable, that they were of the ancient colonies of the Gauls, who seated themselves either on the Swedish sea, or on the Danube. For the men of a Gælic descent being counted foreigners by the Germans, (as indeed they were,) I judge their name was used in a way of reproach, so that one word, *i. e.* Walch, with them, signifies a Gaul, a stranger, and a barbarian too. So that it is very credible, that the ancestors of the Picts, either being expelled by their neighbours, or driven up and down by tempests, were easily reconciled to the Scots ; nay, were befriended and aided (as it is reported) by them, as a people allied to them, almost of the same language with them, and their religious customs not unlike. So that it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their blood, and, by marriages, make a coalition, as it were, into one nation. For otherwise I do not see, how the Scots, who then possessed Ireland, being a fierce and rough-hewn people, should so easily

enter into an affinity and complete friendship with strangers, who were necessitous and destitute of all things, whom they never saw before, and with whom they had no commerce, in point of laws, religion, or language.

But here the authority of Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, stands a little in my way, who is the only writer I know of that affirms the Picts used a different language from the Scots; for, speaking of Britain, he says, that it did search after, and profess the knowledge of the highest truth, and the sublimest science in five languages, the English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. But, I suppose, Bede calls five dialects of one and the same tongue, five tongues, as we see the Greeks did, in the like case; and as Cæsar doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the *Gælic* war. For he says, that three parts of Gaul used different languages and customs. But Strabo, though he grants that the Aquitains used a different language from the other Gauls; yet he affirms, that all the rest of the Gauls used the same language, but with a little variation. The Scots also do not differ from the Britons in their whole language, but in dialect rather, as I shall shew hereafter; their speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same; for they differ less than some French provinces do, which yet are all said to speak French. And therefore other writers give not the least suspicion of a different language; and they, as long as both kingdoms were in being, as if they had been people of one nation, did always contract marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning; so afterwards they carried themselves as neighbours, and oftentimes as friends, until the destruction of the Picts.

Neither did the remainder of them, (who, when their military race was extinct, yet must needs be many,) in any degree, corrupt the Scottish tongue;

nor indeed are there any footsteps of a foreign language in the places and habitations which they left. For all the countries of the Picts, and particular places too, do yet retain Scottish appellations, except a very few; which upon the Saxon tongue's prevailing over our country language, had German names imposed upon them.

Neither is this to be omitted, that, before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, we never read that the British nations used interpreters to understand one another. Wherefore, seeing the Scottish, English, and German writers do unanimously accord, that the original of the Picts was from Germany; and since it is also manifest, that the Gothunni, or Getini, were colonies of the Gauls, whose language they spoke; and that the Æstii living near the Swedish, or Baltic Sea, spoke British; whence may we the most rationally, fetch the descent of the Picts? Or, whether should they, being expelled from their native habitations, go, but to their own kindred? or, where were they likely to obtain marriage-unions, but among a people of affinity with them in blood, language, and manners?

But if any one deny, that the Picts were descended from the Gothunni, or Æstii, or Getæ, being induced to that persuasion by the great distance of those countries from Britain; let him but consider, how many, and how great migrations of people were made, even in all parts of the world, in those times when the coming of the Picts into Britain is recorded to have happened, and also for many ages after; and then he may easily grant, that such things might not only be done, but be done with very great ease. The Gauls did then possess great part of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, by their colonies; they proceeded as far as Paulus Mæotis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with their depredations; and after they had wasted Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, they fixed their seats in Asia.

The Cimbri, Ambrones, and Teutones, having wasted Gaul, penetrated into Italy: The Geloni, whom Virgil places in Thrace, are, by other writers, said to dwell near to the Agathyrsi, in Scythia.

The Goths, for a great while an obscure nation, yet, in a short time, over-ran Europe, Asia, and Africa, like a flood. And, therefore, inasmuch as for many ages after, those who were grandees, and more powerful than others, challenged to themselves the seats of their inferiors; the weak being obnoxious to the injuries of the strong, left their country, which they could not keep; so that it is no great wonder among the wise, if men, having long combated with adverse fortune, and being tossed up and down by many peregrinations, having, besides, no certain habitation, did at length betake themselves to remote, or far distant countries.

Besides, we see that the Roman writers place two ancient nations within those limits, which bounded the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, the Mayattæ and Attacottæ. Of these, I suppose, the Mayattæ, whom Dion alone, of all the authors that I know, doth mention were of the Pictish race, seeing he places them in the countries nearest to the Caledonian Sea; and it is certain that the Picts did inhabit those provinces. As for the Attacottæ, it appears, out of Marcellinus, that they were the progeny of those, who, having been formerly excluded by Adrian's wall, but afterwards enlarging their dominions unto the wall of Severus, were comprehended within the Roman province; because I find, in a book of the Romans concerning camp-discipline through their provinces, that, among the foreign auxiliaries, there were some troops of the Attacottæ, as well as of the Britons: Which puts me at a stand, whether of the two I should most admire in Lud, his boldness, or his stupidity; his boldness, who affirms, that the Attacottæ were Scotch, but

without any certain author, or probable conjecture; his stupidity, that, in the very place of Marcellinus cited by him, he sees not, that the Scotch are plainly distinguished from the Attacottæ. For Marcellinus says, the Picts, Saxons, Scotch, and Attacottæ, vexed the Britons with perpetual miseries. Of the same stupidity he is guilty, when he affirms that the Caledonii were of the nation of the Britons; whereas, it is plain, they were Picts, which Lud himself doth clearly demonstrate by a testimony out of a panegyric spoken to Constantine, which he produces against himself. For, says the author of that oration, “the woods of the Caledones, and of other Picts:” that testimony (such was his folly) he produces for himself, not observing, (such was his stupidity), that it makes against him. If we look to the word itself, it is Scotch; for Calden, in Scotch, is that tree called the hazel: whence, I judge, came the name of the Caledonian woods, and the town of the Caledonians, situated by the river Tay, which is yet called Duncalden, *i. e.* the Hazel-hill town. And if I dared to indulge myself with so much liberty, as to disagree from all the books of Ptolemy, for the Deucaledonian I would write the Duncaledonian Sea; and for the Dicaledones in Marcellinus, Duncaledones; both the sea and the nation being surnamed from the town, Duncalden. What I have written may satisfy any favourable reader; yet I shall add other testimonies, which C. Plinius thinks to be manifest signs of the originals of nations; viz. the religion, language, and names of towns.

First of all, it is manifest, that the bond of religion, and the identity of sentiment as to the (supposed) gods, hath been always held the strictest tie of obligation and alliance amongst nations. Now, the Britons and the Gauls maintained the same divine worship; they had the same priests, the Druids, generally, who were in no nation else; whose super-

stition had so prevailed in both nations, that many have doubted which of the two first learned that sort of philosophy, one from the other. Tacitus also says, that they had the same sacred rites and superstitious observances. And that tomb erected near New Carthage, called Mercurius Teutates, as Livy writes, doth shew, that the Spaniards, the greatest part of whom drew their original from the Gauls, were not free from those rites. Also, the same kind of priests, or sacrists, called by both of them Bards, were in great honour, both amongst the Gauls and Britons. Their function and name doth yet remain amongst all those nations which use the old British tongue; and so much honour is given to them, in many places, that their persons are accounted sacred, and their houses sanctuaries; nay, in the height of their enmities, when they manage the cruellest wars one against another, and use their victories as severely; yet these Bards and their retinue have free liberty to pass and repass, at their pleasure. The nobles, when they come to them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with gifts. They make cantos, and those not inelegant; which the rhapsodists recite, either to the better sort, or else to the vulgar, who are very desirous to hear them; and sometimes they sing them to musical instruments. Many of their ancient customs yet remain; nay, there is almost nothing changed of them in Ireland, but only in ceremonies and rites of religion. This for the present concerning their religion. It remains now that we speak concerning their ancient language, and the names of their towns, and of their people. But these parts, though oftentimes distinct in themselves, shall yet be promiscuously handled, by me; because many times one depends upon another, as its foundation: especially, since a proper name, either by its origin or declination, proves, or at least gives some indication of the country from whence it comes; yet,

though these things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will, for the reader's instruction, take occasion sometimes to treat of them severally, as much as I can.

First of all, Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, affirms, that the Gallic tongue did not much differ from the British; whence I gather, that they were formerly the same; but, by little and little, either by commerce with foreign nations, or by the importation of new commodities, unknown before to the natives; or by the invention of new arts; or by the frequent change of the form of garments, arms, and other furniture, a speech, or language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much altered, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. Let a man but think with himself, how much the inconstancy and caprice of the vulgar doth assume to itself in this particular, and how ready men are, and always were, to loath present things, and to study innovations; he will find the judgment of the best of poets, and the only censor, in these cases, to be most true,

* *Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modo nata, vigentque.*

As from the trees old leaves drop off, and die,
While others sprout, and a fresh shade supply;
So fare our words—through time worn out and dead,
A fresher language rises in their stead.

And a little after,

*Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.*

* *Hor. de Arte Poetica.*

Many words shall fall,
Which now we highly prize:
And words, which now have fallen,
Shall hereafter rise;
Use, or custom, rules this thing,
And governs language, as a king.

It is true, he spoke this of the Latin tongue, which, by the great care of the Romans, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the nations, contained within the large bounds of their empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no wonder, if a language (even before colonies were sent into all parts, out of Gaul), which already had different dialects at home, and also was afterwards corrupted by the mixture of divers nations, being in itself somewhat barbarous at first, and neglected by those that used it; and after it had again re-entered, from a foreign soil, into Britain, which was then divided into kingdoms, for the most part obnoxious to strangers; it is no wonder, I say, if under all these prejudices, it did not always prove consistent with itself. For, at first, the Celtæ and the Belgæ used a different dialect, as Strabo thinks. Afterwards, when the Celtæ sent abroad great colonies into Spain, as the names of Celtiberi and Celtici declare, and the Belgæ made their descent into the maritime parts of Britain, as may be collected from the names of Venta Belgarum, of the Atrebates and Icenî; it must needs follow, that on one side the Spaniards, and on the other the Romans, the English, the Danes and the Normans, must bring many strange words with them, and so corrupt the country speech. Nay, I rather judge it a matter of much more wonder, that the languages of neighbouring nations, having been adulterated by the coming in of so many strange people, and in great part changed by the speech of neighbouring countries, that yet, even so long a time after, the Britons should not differ in their whole language, but in certain idioms and dialects

only ; for, if any one of them hears a man of another nation speak British, he may observe the sound of his own language, and may understand many words, though he does not comprehend his whole discourse. Neither ought it to seem strange to us, that the same words do not signify the same things in all nations, when we consider, what alterations commerce with neighbouring countries daily makes in the speech of all nations ; and how great a change of phrases must needs be owing to a daily conversation with foreigners ; how many new words are coined to express things newly invented ; how many are imported with wares and traffic, even from the farthest parts of the world ; how many old obsolete words are disused ; how many are lengthened by the addition of letters and syllables ; and how many are shortened by contrary decurtations ; and some also new vamped and refined, as it were, by mutation or transposition of letters. I will not enquire, in how short a time, and how much the Ionic speech did degenerate from the Attic, and how much the other Greeks differed from them both. Let us but observe the speech of the noblest nations in Europe ; how soon did the French, Italian and Spanish tongues, all derived from the same root, degenerate from the purity of the Latin ? Yet, in the mean time, they differ no less amongst themselves, than the old Scottish and the British tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the provinces of France, (I mean those that are judged to speak true Gallic or French), what a great difference shall we find between the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis, and the Gascoigns ? And how vastly the Limosins, the Perigordins, and the Auvergnians, though neighbours to both, yet differ from both in their speech ? And how much the rest of the provinces of France differ even from all of them ? And, to come nearer home, the English laws of William the Norman, established five hundred years ago, were written in French ; yet

now no Frenchman can understand them, without an interpreter. Nay, if those old men who have lived long in the world, will but recollect how many words are grown obsolete, which were in use when they were children; and what words unheard-of by our ancestors, have succeeded in their places; they will not at all wonder, that the same original language, in length of time, should be changed, and seem wholly different from itself; especially amongst nations far remote, and also often warring one against another. On the other side, when I see that concord (lasting so many ages rather than years) in the British language, and that even amongst nations, either very distant one from another, or else maintaining mutual animosities against one another; as is hardly to be found amongst the many tribes and people of France, who yet have long lived under the same kings and laws: I say, when I recollect within myself, such an agreement in speech, which as yet preserves its ancient affinity of words, and no obscure marks of its original; I am easily induced to believe, that, before the coming of the Saxons, all the Britons used a language not much different from each other; and it is probable, that the people on the Gallic shore used the Belgic tongue, from whose limits a good part of the Britons, bordering on France, had transplanted themselves, as Cæsar informs us. But the Irish, and the colonies sent from them, being derived from the Celtæ, inhabitants of Spain, it is probable, they spoke the Celtic tongue. I suppose, that these nations returning, as it were, from a long pilgrimage, and possessing themselves of the neighbour seats, and almost uniting into one people, did confound the idioms of their several tongues into a medley that was neither wholly Belgic, nor wholly Celtic, nor yet wholly unlike to either of them: such a mixture we may observe in those nations, which are thought to speak the German tongue, and yet have much declined from the

ancient phrase thereof: I mean the Danes, the maritime Saxons, those of Friesland, those of Flanders, and the English; amongst all which it is easy to find some letters, sounds, and inflections, which are proper to the Germans only, and not common to any other nation. Besides, I suppose, that a surer symptom of the affinity of languages may be gathered from the sound of letters, from the familiar way of each nation in pronouncing certain letters, and from the judgment of the ear thereupon; and also, from the composition and declension of words, than from the signification of single or particular words. We find examples of this in the German letter *W*, in the composition of the words *Moremarusa* and *Armoricus*, of which I have spoken before; and in the declension of those words, which amongst the French end in *ac*, of which there is a vast number; which form among the Scots is hypocritical, *i. e.* diminutive; and so it was amongst the ancient Gauls. From *drix*, which among the Scots signifies a brier, is derived *drissac*, *i. e.* a brierling, or little brier-bush. And from *brix*, which signifies a rupture or cleft, *brixac*, which now the French pronounce *brissac*. For, what the Scots pronounce *brix*, that the French call *bresche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the signification of the words. The cause of the different writing is, that the ancient Scots, and all the Spaniards to this very day, do use the letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old Gauls, from *brix*, called a town of the Cænomani, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Brisac*. After the like form, *Aureliacum*, *i. e.* Orilhach, is derived from *Aurelia*, *i. e.* *Orleance*; and, from *Evora*, which is called *Cerealis*, or *Eborac*, named, by the Spaniards, *Felicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, *i. e.* York, is derived; as the Brigantes have declined it, (who had their origin from the Spaniards), retaining, in the declension thereof, the propriety of the French tongue. Fur-

hermore, besides those things which I have mentioned, all that coast of Britain which is extended to the south-west, retains the sure and manifest tokens of a Gallic speech and original, according to the clear testimony even of foreigners themselves. First, in that coast, there is Cornuwallia, *i. e.* Cornwall, as many call it, but by the ancients it was called Cornavia, and by the vulgar Kernico; even as in Scotland, the Carnavii, placed by Ptolemy in the most northern district of that country, are commonly called Kernics; so that Cornuwallia is derived from Kernic and Valli, as if you should say Kernico-Galli, *i. e.* Cornish Gauls. Moreover, Vallia, *i. e.* Wales, another peninsula on the same side, doth avouch its ancestors both in name and speech. They who come near in language to the sound of the German tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a letter proper to the Germans only; which the rest of their neighbours, who use the old tone, can by no means pronounce; nay, if you should put them to the torture to make them pronounce it aright, yet the Cornish, the Irish, or Highland Scots could never do it. But the French, when they speak of Vallia, do always prefix *G* before it, Guallia; and not in that word alone, but they have many others also, which begin with *G*. For they who, by reason of the propinquity of the countries, do germanize, do call the French tongue Walla: and besides, in a multitude of other words, they use this change of letters: On the other side, that country which the English call Wales and North Wales, the French call Gales and Norgales, still closely adhering to the primitive sounds of their ancient tongue.

But Polydore Virgil pleaseth himself with a new fancy, which he thinks he was the first inventor of; whereas no man, though but meanly skilled in the German tongue, is ignorant, that the word Walsch signifies a stranger or foreigner; and that therefore the Valli were called foreigners by them. But he

reckons, as we say, without his host ; for, if that name were derived from one's being foreign, I think it would agree better to the Angles, or English, as an adventitious people, than to those, whom, by reason of their antiquity, many of the ancients have thought to be the first inhabitants : Or, if that name were imposed upon them by the English, they might with better reason have given it to the Scots and Picts, than to the Britons, because with the former they had less acquaintance and very rare commerce ; and if the English called them Valli in reproach, would the Britons, think we, who, for so many ages, were the deadly enemies of the English, and now made more obnoxious to them by this affront, own that name ? Which they do not unwillingly, calling themselves in their own tongue Cum-bri. Besides, the word Walsch among the Germans, doth not primarily signify a stranger or barbarian ; but, in its first and proper acceptation, a Gaul. And therefore, in my judgment, the word Vallia is changed by the English from Gallia ; they agreeing with other neighbour nations in the name, but observing the propriety of the German tongue in pronouncing the first letter by *W*, viz. Wallia. The ancient inhabitants of that peninsula were called Silures, as appears out of Pliny ; which name in some part of Wales was long retained, in succeeding ages. But Leland, a Briton by birth, and a man very diligent in discovering the monuments of his own country, doth affirm, that some part of Wales was formerly called Ross, which word in Scotland signifies a peninsula ; but the neighbouring nations seem, in speaking, to have used a name or word which shewed the original of the nation, rather than one that demonstrated the site and form of the country. The same hath happened in the name Scots ; for whereas they call themselves Albini, a name derived from Albium ; yet their neighbours call them Scoti, by which name their original is declared to be from the Irish, or Hibernians.

On the same side and western shore, follows Gallovidia, *i. e.* Galloway; which word, it is evident, both with Scots and Welch, signifieth a Gaul, as being Gallus with the one, and Wallus with the other; for the Valli or Welch call it Wallowithia. This country yet useth for the most part its ancient language. These three nations comprehend all that tract and side of Brittany which bends toward Ireland; and they as yet retain no mean indications, but rather strong and convincing marks of their Gallic speech and affinity; of which the chief is, that the ancient Scots divided all nations inhabiting Britain, into two sorts; the one they call Gael, the other Galle, or Gald, *i. e.* according to my interpretation, Gallæci and Galli. Moreover, the Gallæcians please themselves with that title, Gael; and they call their language, as I said before, Gallæcian, and do glory in it, as the more refined and elegant, undervaluing the Galli as barbarians in respect of themselves. And though originally the Scots called the Britons, *i. e.* the most ancient inhabitants of the island, Galli; yet the custom of speaking by degrees obtained, that they called all the nations which afterwards fixed their seats in Britain by that name; which they used rather as a contumelious than a national appellation; for the word Galle, or Gald, signifies the same amongst them, which Barbarian doth amongst the Greeks and Latins, and Walsch among the Germans.

Now at last we are come to this point, that we are to demonstrate the community of speech, and thereupon an ancient affinity between the Gauls and the Britons, from the names of towns, rivers, countries and such other evidences;—a ticklish subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a public speech or language may be altered for many causes; for though it be not changed altogether, and at once, yet it is in perpetual fluctuation, and doth easily follow the inconstancy

of the alterers, by reason of a certain flexibility which it hath in its own nature. The truth whereof doth appear chiefly in those ranks of things, which are subject not only to the alterations of time, but also to every man's pleasure or caprice; such as are all particular things invented for the daily use of man's life, whose names either grow obsolete, or are made new and refitted, for very light and trivial causes. But the case is far different in those things which are time-proof, and so, after a sort, are perpetual or eternal. As the heavens, the sea, the earth, fire, mountains, countries, rivers; and also in those, which, by their durableness, as far as the infirmity of nature will permit, do in some sort imitate those perpetual and uncorrupted bodies; such are towns, which are built as if they were to last for ever. So that a man cannot easily give new names to, or change the old names of nations or cities; for they were not rashly imposed at the beginning, but in a manner by the general wise advice and consent of their founders, whom antiquity did greatly reverence, ascribing divine honours to them; and did as much as lay in their power to render them immortal. And therefore these names are deservedly continued, and can receive no alteration without making a mighty disturbance in the whole economy of things: so that, if the rest of a language be changed, yet these are religiously retained, and are never supplanted by other names, but, as it were, with unwillingness and regret. And the cause of their imposing at first, contributes much to their continuance. For those, who, in their peregrinations, either were forced from their old seats; or, of their own accord, sought new; when they had lost their own country, yet retained the name of it, and were willing to enjoy a sound most pleasing to their ears; and by this umbrage of a name, such as it was, the want of their native soil was somewhat alleviated and softened unto

them; so that, by this means, they judged themselves not altogether exiles or travellers, far from home. And, besides, there were not wanting some persons, who, being religiously inclined, conceived an holier and more just representation in their minds, than could be seen in walls and houses, and did sweetly hug, as it were, that image and delightful pledge of their own former country, with a love more than native. And, therefore, a surer argument of affinity may be taken from this sort of words, than from those which, on trivial causes, and oft on none at all, are given to, or taken away from ordinary and changeable things. For though it may casually happen, that the same word may be used in several countries, yet it is not credible, that so many nations, living so far asunder, should agree by mere chance in the frequent imposing of the same name.

In the next place, those names succeed, which are divided from, or compounded of the former primitives. For, oftentimes, the similitude of declination and composition doth more certainly declare the affinity of a language, than the very primitive words themselves; for these are, many times, casually given: but the other, being declined after one mode and form, are directed by one fixed example, which the Greeks call *ἀναλογία*. And, therefore, this certain and perpetual manner of nominal affinity, as Varro speaks, doth, after a sort, lead us to an affinity of stock, and old communion of language. Moreover, there is a certain observation to be made in all primogenial words, *philosophia*, *geometria*, and *dialectica*, though often used by Latin writers, yet have scarcely any Latin word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may seem to take their original; so, on the other side, the words *paradisus* and *gaza* are used by the Greeks; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly foreign, because they cannot shew any words

they were originally derived from, nor any words that were afterwards derived from them, in the genuine Greek tongue.

The same observation may also be made in other tongues, which will help us to judge, what words are domestic, and what are adventitious, or foreign. Let it suffice to have spoken thus much in general; let us now propound examples concerning every particular part: where, first, we meet with those words which end in *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*. Strabo, in his seventh book, with whose opinion Stephanus concurs, says, that *bria* signifies a city; to confirm their opinion, they produce these names, derived from that one word, *Poltymbria*, *Brutobria*, *Mesembria*, and *Selymbria*. But the place by them called *Brutobria*, by others is named *Brutobrica*; and the places which Ptolemy makes to end in *Briga*, Pliny closes with *brica*; so that it is probable, that *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*, signify the same thing. But that they have all their original from Gaul, appears from this, that the Gauls are reported, anciently, to have sent forth colonies into Thrace and Spain, and not they into Gaul; and, therefore, amongst proper classic authors, we usually read the words following:

Abobrica in Pliny, in the circuit of Braga.

Amalobrica in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

Arabrica, Pliny, in the Bracarensian circuit also.

Arabrica, another, Ptolemy, in Lusitania, or Portugal.

Arcobrica, Ptolemy, amongst the Celtiberians, *i. e.* New Castilians.

Arcobrica, another, Ptolemy, amongst the Lusitanian Celts.

Arcobrica, a third, in the Cæsar-Augustan province.

Artobrica, Ptolmey, in the Vindelicis country.

Augustobrica, Pliny and Ptolemy, in Portugal.

Augustobrica, another; Ptolemy; in the Vectons country.

Augustobrica, a third; Ptolemy; in the Pelendons country.

Axabrica, Pliny, of the Lusitanians.

Bodobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire; in High Germany.

Brige, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in Brittany.

Brige, in Strabo, a town by the Cottian Alps.

Brutobrica, in Strabo, between the Turduli and the river Bætis.

Cæliobrica, Ptolemy, of the Cœlerini, *i. e.* people in Portugal.

Cæsarobrica, Pliny, in Portugal also.

Catobrica, of the Turduli, in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

Corimbrica, Pliny, in Portugal: but if I mistake not, corruptly for Conimbrica, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus, which city as yet keeps its ancient name, by the river Munda, in Portugal.

Cotleobrica, Ptolemy, in the Vectons country.

Deobrica, Ptolemy, among the Vectons also.

Deobrica, another, Ptolemy, of the Autrigones.

Deobricula, Ptolemy, of the Morbogi.

Dessobrica, not far distant from Lacobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Flaviobrica, Pliny, at the port Amanus. Ptolemy, in the Autrigons, calls it *Magnus*; but I know not whether *Magnus* ought to be writ in Pliny, or no.

Gerabrica in the Scalabitan province, which Pliny writes *Jerabrica*.

Juliobrica, in Pliny, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, of the Cantabrians, or Biscayners, heretofore called *Brigantia*.

Lacobrica, in the Vaccæans country, in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Festus Pompeius.

Lacobrica, at the Sacred promontory, in Mela.

Lancobrica, of the Lusitanic Celti, Ptolemy.

Latebrige, near to the Switzers, Cæsar.

Medubrica, surnamed *Plumbaria*, by Pliny, in Portugal : this, if I mistake not, is called *Mundobrica* in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Merobrica, surnamed *Celtica*, in Portugal ; Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Mirobrica, in the country of the Oretani.

Mirobrica, another, in Beturia, or in the country of the Turdetani Bætici ; Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Nemetobrica, in the country of the Lusitanic Celts ; Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, in the Turdulis country of Bætica ; Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, another, in the Celtiberians country ; Ptolemy ; which, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is called *Nitobrica*.

Segobrica, in the Celtiberians country ; Pliny ; but Ptolemy counts the head city of Celtiberia.

Talabrica, in Lusitania ; Pliny and Ptolemy.

Turobrica, in the Celts country of Bætica ; Pliny.

Tuntobrica, amongst the Bracarean Gallæci ; Ptolemy.

Vertobrica, surnamed *Concordia Julia* ; Pliny ; in the Celt-Bætics country.

Volobrica, of the Nemetes ; Ptolemy.

Very many of the towns and nations seem to belong to this class, in all the provinces into which the Gauls distributed colonies : For, as Burgundus and Burgundio seem to be derived from Burgo ; so doth Brigantes from Briga. The nominative case of this word, in Stephanus, is Brigas, whence we decline Brigantes ; as we do Gigantes, from Gigas. The Brigantes, according to Strabo, are situated by the Cottian Alps ; and, in the same tract, is the village, or town Brige, and the Brigiani, in the trophy of Augustus, are reckoned amongst the Alpine na-

tions. Brigantium is an Alpine town ; and the Brigantii are in the country of the Vindelici, according to Strabo ; and Brigantia, in the Itinerary of Antoninus ; and the mountain Briga (Ptolemy) is near the fountains of the Rhone and the Danube. Also Brigantium in Rhætia, (Ptolemy), is the same town, I suppose, which, in the book of the knowledge of the provinces of the people of Rome, is called Brecantin, and the Brigantine lake. And in Ireland are the Brigantes, Ptolemy. The Brigantes also are in Albium—Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Seneca ; and the town Brige, or Brage, and Isobrigantium, in the Itinerary of Antoninus. And the town Brigantium, in Orosius, by the Celtic promontory, and Flavio-brigantium, or Besançon, in Ptolemy, in the great port ; and a later Brigantia, *i. e.* Braganza, now in the kingdom of Portugal.

There is also another class or rank of words, which do either begin in Dunum, or end therewith ; which is a Gallic word, as appears by those heaps of sand of the Morini, as yet called Duni, or the Downs ; and those other heaps of sand in the sea over-against them on the English shore, which retain the same name of Downs. Yea, Plutarch, (I mean he who wrote the book of rivers), in declaring the original of Lugdunum, *i. e.* Lyons, acknowledges Dunum to be a Gallic word. And, indeed, in expressing the names of villages and towns, there is scarce any one word or termination more frequent than that, amongst the nations who yet preserve the old Gallic tongue almost entire ; I mean the Britons in Gallia Celtica ; and the ancient Scots in Ireland and Albium ; and the Valli or Welch ; the Kernicovalli, or Cornish in England ; for there is none of those nations which do not challenge that word or termination for their own ; only here is the difference, that the old Gauls did end their compound words with Dunum, but the Scots ordinarily place it in the beginning of words ; of this sort there are found,

IN FRANCE.

Augustodunum, of the Ædui or Burgundians.

Castellodunum, of the Carnotensian province, *i. e.* of Chartres.

Melodunum, by the river Sequana, or Seine.

Lugdunum, at the confluence of the rivers Arar and Rhone.

Augustodunum, another Autun, of the Arverni, or Auvergenois, and Clermontians; Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, of the Conveni, or Comingeois, near the river Garonne; Ptolemy.

Novidunum, in the Triboccis country; Ptolemy.

Uxellodunum, in Cæsar.

Juliodunum, in the Pictons country, *i. e.* Poitiers.

Isodunum, and *Regiodunum*, of the Bituriges, *i. e.* inhabitants of Berry.

Laodunum, or *Laudunum*, in the county of Rheims.

Cæsarodunum; Ptolemy; of the Turones, *i. e.* Tournois.

Segodunum, of the Ruthenians; Ptolemy.

Velannodunum (or St Flour) in Cæsar.

IN SPAIN.

Caladunum; Ptolemy; of the Bracari, or Braganzians.

Sebendunum, Ptolemy.

IN BRITAIN.

Camulodunum, of the Brigantes country; Ptolemy.

Camulodunum, a Roman colony; Tacitus.

Dunum, a town of the Durotriges, or Dorsetshire men; Ptolemy.

Maridunum Demetarum, *i. e.* Caermarthen, of the Demetæ; Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Rigodunum, of the Brigantes; Ptolemy *i. e.* Ribchester in Lancashire.

Cambodunum, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *i. e.* ruins near Almonbury in Yorkshire.

Margidunum, in the same Itinerary, *i. e.* Marge-deverton in Leicestershire, near Belvoir castle; or, as some, Leicester itself.

Sorviodunum, or *Sorbiodunum*, in the same Itinerary; *i. e.* Old Sarum in Wiltshire.

Segodunum, *i. e.* Seton in Northumberland; and *Axelodunum*, *i. e.* Hexham, in Northumberland also, in the book of the *Notitia Romani imperii*, or knowledge of the Roman empire, &c.

LATER TOWNS IN ENGLAND.

Venantodunum, *i. e.* Huntingdon.

Dunelmum, *i. e.* Durham.

IN SCOTLAND.

Duncaledon, called also *Caledonia*, *i. e.* Dunkeld.

Deidunum, *i. e.* Dundee, or rather *Taodunum*, by the river Tay.

Edinodunum, which word the ancient Scots do yet retain; but they who Germanize, had rather call it *Edinburgh*.

Dunum, a town in Ireland, called *Down*.

Noviodunum, or New Down, *i. e.* Dunmore castle, in Cowal.

Brittannodunum, *i. e.* Dunbritton or Dunbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Leven.

And at this day there are innumerable names of castles, villages, and hills compounded with *Dunum*.

In GERMANY, these names are read in Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, *i. e.* Leyden; *Segodunum*, *i. e.* Nuremburgh; *Tarodunum* *i. e.* Friburgh; *Robodunum*, *i. e.* Brin; *Carrodunum*, *i. e.* Crainburgh.

IN THE ALPS COUNTRY.

Ebrodunum, and *Sedunum*.

In the VINDELICI or Bavarians country, in RHÆTIA, the GRISONS country, and NORICUM.

Cambodunum, *Corrodunum*, *Gesodunum*, *Idunum*,

and *Noviodunum*; and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire; *Parrodunum*, i. e. *Partenkirk*.

In *SARMATIA* and *DACIA*, according to Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, *Singindunum*, by the Danube; *Noviodunum* at the mouth of the Danube; also another *Noviodunum*.

And there are, in the same provinces, not a few words declined from *Dur*, which among the old Gauls and Britons signifies water, and as yet retains the same signification amongst some, as there are

IN FRANCE,

Durocotti in the Rhemish circuit, Ptolemy; we read them also *Durocorti*; moreover, Cæsar makes mention of *Divodurum*, of the *Mediomatrices*. Tacitus, *Divodurum*, near Paris; in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *Batavodurum*, amongst the *Batavi*—Ptolemy, Tacitus. *Breviodurum* in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus. *Ganodurum* in Ptolemy, near the Rhine. *Gannodurum* in the Helvetians country, Ptolemy. *Octodurum*, or *Octodurus*, amongst the *Veragri*; Cæsar.

In *RHÆTIA*, the *VINDELICES* country, and *NORICUM*.

Bragodurum, *Carrodurum*, *Ebodurum*, *Gannodurum*, and *Octodurum*; Ptolemy. *Venaxamodurum* and *Bododurum*, in the book of the knowledge of the provinces.

IN SPAIN.

Octodurum and *Ocellodurum*, Ptolemy: the river *Durius* flowing into the ocean, and *Duria* into the Mediterranean sea, and in Ireland the river *Dur*; Ptolemy.

IN BRITAIN.

Durocbrivæ, *Duroprovæ*, *Durolenum*, *Durovernum*, *Durolipont*, *Durotriges*, *Durocornovium*, *Duro-litum*, *Duronovaria*, *Lactodurum*.

Perhaps the two Alpine rivers, *Doria* the Greater

and the Less (the one running into the Po, through the Salassians' country; the other through the Piedmontese), do belong to the same original; and also Issiodorus, and Altissidorus, cities of France, so called (as I judge) from their situation near rivers; to which Dureta may be referred, which word in Spanish signifies a wooden throne, as Suetonius writes in the life of Augustus. The like may be said of Domnacus, the proper name of a man in Cæsar, which seems to be corrupted from Dunacus; for Dunach may signify Dunan and Dunensis both; as Romach doth Romanus. Dunacus, or rather Dunachus, is yet used for the proper name of a man, which those who are ignorant of both tongues, the Latin and the British, do render (but amiss) sometimes Duncan, sometimes Donat.

The old word Magus also, in all the provinces in which the public use of the Gallic tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the names of cities; which shews that it was of a Gallic original. But of the derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signify a house, city, or any building. We read in the book of the knowledge of the empire of the people of Rome, the prefect of the Pacensian levies, in garrison at Magi; and also in the same book, the tribune of the second cohort placed at the Magni; we read also of Magni in the Itinerary of Antoninus. I dare not positively assert, whether it be one town or many. But I incline, of the two, rather to think that they were sundry towns.

Towns ending in Magus are these, Noviomagus in Ptolemy, amongst the Santons; Noviomagus of the Lexovii; Noviomagus of the Vadecassii; Noviomagus of the Nemetes; Noviomagus of the Tricassini; Noviomagus of the Bituriges; Juliomagus of the Andegavi; Rotomagus of the Venolocassii; Cæsaromagus of the Bellovaci; Rotomagus of the Nervii; Borbetomagus of the Vangiones in High

Germany; Vindomagus of the Volci Arecomici. Also in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Argentomagus; and in High Germany, Noviomagus. In the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, Noviomagus of Belgica Secunda; in Rhætia, Drusemagus, Ptolemy. In Britain, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Cæsaromagus; Sitomagus; Noviomagus of the Regni; Vacomagi; Magiovinium; Vicomagi, part of the Picts country, Ptolemy.

There are also other names of places, common to many of these nations, but not so frequently used, nor so far extended as the former; such as are Hibernia, *i. e.* Ireland, amongst the Romans, the name of an island, called by Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, and Juvenal, Juverna; by Strabo, Claudian, and the inhabitants thereof, Jerna. That which some call the Nerian promontory, Strabo calls Jerne; Jernus, or Jern, a river of Gallæcia, Mela calls it Jerna; Jernus is also a river of Ireland; in Ptolemy, it is reckoned a river of Scotland, falling into Tay. Another of the same name glides through Moray; the country adjacent to both is called Jerna.

We read of the city Mediolanum, in Ptolemy; as one Insubrum, of the Santones; another of the Aulerici Eburaici; another by the Loire, *i. e.* Menu; a fourth by Sequana, or the Seine, now, as I think, named Meulan, or Melun; another in High Germany, called Asciburgium; another by the Danube; another in Britain, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Also Marcolica, a town in Spain; Marcolica, in Ireland; Vaga, a river in Portugal; and another of Wales in England. Avo, in Mela, Avus, in Ptolemy, a river of Gallæcia, as yet retains its name. In Argyle there is also a river of the same name, flowing out of the Loch Awe. The Promontorium Sacrum, one is in Spain, another in Ireland. Ocellum is a promontory in Britain; Ocellum is also in Gallæcia, in the Lucensian district; Ocelli are moun-

tains in Scotland; Ocellum is the last town of Gallia Togata; Cæsar mentions Uxellum, a town in Britain, perhaps for Ocellum; for Martianus, in explaining the ancient names of the cities of Gallia, says, that the word is variously writ, Ocellum, Oscela, and Oscellium; hence perhaps comes Uxellodunum, which is also sometimes writ Uxellodurum. So there is Tamar, a river of Gallæcia—Ptolemy; Tamaris, in Mela, Tamarici, a people of Gallæcia; the river Tamarus, Pliny; and Tamara, a town in Britain.

Sars, a river of Gallæcia, Ptolemy; Sarcus in Scotland, Mela.

Ebora, a town of Portugal, called Liberalitas Julia, in Pliny and Ptolemy; Eburia; that which is Cerealis in Bætica, in Pliny is Ebora; Ptolemy mentions Aulerci Eburaici in Gallia Celtica; and also Eboracum, *i. e.* York, of the British Brigantes.

Deva, now Dee, a river of England; and three in Scotland, so called, one in Galloway, another in Angus, the third divides Mearns from Marr.

The Cornavii in England are in the farthest part of the west; in Scotland, they are the farthest north. Both of them are now called Kernici; there seems also to have been a third sort of Kernici in Scotland, at the mouth of the river Avenus, or Avon, which is the boundary between the coasts of Lothian and Stirling. For Bede makes the monastery of Abercorn to be at the end of Severus's wall, where now the ruins of the castle of Abercorn do appear. Avon is often read, a river both of England and Scotland. Avon in Scottish, and Evon in Welsh, signifies a river.

Of the threenations which first inhabited this island, after the coming of Cæsar, the Britons were subject to the emperors of Rome successively, little less than five hundred years; but the Scots and Picts were under their own kings. At length, when all the neighbouring nations did conspire for the destruction of the Ro-

mans, they recalled their armies from their most remote provinces, to maintain their empire at home. And, by this means, the Britons, being destitute of foreign aid, were miserably vexed by the Scots and Picts; insomuch, that they craved aid of the Saxons, who then infested the seas with a piratical navy. But that project cost them dear. For the Saxons having repelled the Picts and Scots, being tempted by the fertility of the country, and the weakness of the inhabitants, aspired to make themselves masters of the island. But, after various successes in war, seeing they could not arrive at what they aimed at by force, they resolved to attempt the Britons by fraud. Their stratagem was this. There being a conference or treaty, agreed upon at a set day and place, between the nobles of both parties; the Saxons having a sign given them by Hengist, their captain, slew all the British nobility, and drove the common people into rugged and mountainous places; so that they themselves possessed all the champaign, and divided the fruitfulest part of the island between them, into seven kingdoms. This was the state of affairs in Britain, about the year of Christ 464. And whereas three German nations did originally undertake expeditions into Britain, the other two, by degrees, passed into the name of Englishmen. But neither the peace made with the Britons, nor with the English amongst themselves, was ever faithfully observed for 317 years together; when the Danes, being powerful at sea, did first molest England with piratical incursions; but being valiantly repulsed, about thirty-six years after they came with greater forces, and made a descent into the country with a land-army. At the first conflict they were victors, but afterwards they contended with the English with various successes, till in the year 1012, Swain, having wholly subdued the Britons, by their public consent, obtained the kingdom, which yet remained but a few years in his family.

For the Saxons having again created kings of their own nation, about twenty-four years after, were overcome by William the Norman, most of their nobility being slain, and their lands divided among the Normans; by which means the common people were kept in a miserable slavery, till Henry VII.'s time, who, easing part of their burdens, made the condition of the commonality a little more tolerable. But those which are in favour with the king, or would seem to be truly illustrious and noble, do all derive themselves from the Normans.

These are the discoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient writings, and other, not obscure indications, concerning the original, customs, and language of the three most ancient nations in Britain; all which induce me to believe, that the old Britons, and the other inhabitants of Britain, were derived from the Gauls, and did originally use the Gallic speech; of which many signs very manifestly appear, both in France and Britain. Neither ought it to seem strange, if, in language, which admits of a change each moment of our life, many things receive different names in divers places, especially in such a length of time; nay, we may rather admire, that the same foundations of language, (if I may so speak), and the same manner of declension and derivation, do yet continue amongst people far remote one from another, and seldom agreeing together in converse of life; nay, being often at mortal feuds one with another.

Concerning the other three nations, the Angles, Danes and Normans, we need make no solicitous enquiry; seeing the times and causes of their coming are known almost to all. But I have entered upon this task, that I might restore us to our ancestors, and our ancestors to us; if I have performed this well, I have no reason to repent of a little labour, though spent in none of the greatest concerns; if not, yet they who concur not with

me in opinion, cannot, I believe, disallow or blame my good-will. And I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have what I have written refuted, that if any man can discover greater certainty, and convince me of my mistake, I shall return him great thanks for his pains.

I had resolved here to put an end to this disquisition concerning the original of the nations of Britain, if Ludd had not called me back, even against my will, who maintains, that the Scots and Picts came but lately into Albium. Though I might, without any offence, pass by the empty vanity of the man, joined with his ignorance; yet, least the faction of the unlearned should too much pride themselves in such a patron, I thought fit, in a few words, to abate his confidence, and that principally from those arguments and testimonies which he himself produceth against us.

First, I will speak concerning his manner of reasoning, and afterwards of the matter itself.

Julius Cæsar (says he) and Cornelius Tacitus, writers of so great exactness; as also Suetonius, Herodian, and other Romans, who wrote of British affairs, have, in no part of their works, made mention of Scots or Picts; and, therefore, doubtless they had no seats in Britain, in that age. Wilt thou accept of this condition, Ludd, that what nation no ancient writer hath mentioned, never any such nation was in being? If you embrace this motion, see how many nations you will exclude from their beings in one or two lines? How great a table of proscriptions will you make? Nay, what great persons will you proscribe, Brutus, Albanactus, and Camber? What nations will you wholly eradicate, the Loegri, the Cambri, the Albani, according to your *postulatum*, who art a tyrant in history, and grammar both, as deriving *Albanus* from *Albanactus*? But if that condition, proffered, do not please,

—— Quia te gallinæ filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infelicibus ovis.

Since you're the brood of pullen with white legs,
Plebeian chickens we hatch'd out of refuse eggs.

I will propound another to you, and such an one too, as you ought not, and I think, dare not refuse. There is a certain kind of proof to be drawn from fragments, by which, if you harden your forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make use of this way of proof, because you seem to love it most of all, as proving, forsooth, out of a fragment, known, I believe, to thyself alone, that an innumerable multitude of the Cimbri issued forth to destroy the Roman empire; I will therefore shew you out of a fragment, that the Scots and Picts were in Britain before Vespasian's reign, which you deny. In that book, to which you have given the title *Fragmentum Britannicæ descriptionis, i. e.* A fragment of the description of Britain; for this special reason, I believe, because you thought yourself to have sufficiently proved, out of one of the two fragments, that the island was rather to be called Pritania, than Britannia; and out of the other, that you had disgorged such a multitude of Cimbri, as your Britain could not contain: for this cause, you thought that your fragment would get credit enough on that single account. In that book you write, that the names of Scots and Picts, together with the Franks and English, or Angles, were well known to the Roman world; and as a witness of this opinion (a meet one indeed) he produced Mamertinus in the panegyric spoken by him to Maximianus; which witness, if I understand him aright, makes against Ludd. For Mamertinus, speaking of the first coming of Julius Cæsar into Britain, hath these words: "Moreover the nation, as yet rude, "and *soli Britanni*, accustomed to none but the arms "of the Irish Picts, their half-naked enemies, did

“easily yield to the arms and ensigns of the Romans.” See, I pray, what Ludd would infer out of this testimony: first, that the Britons alone did then inhabit the island; next, that the people there named Hiberni or Irish, were afterwards called Scots. But the author of the panegyric doth assert neither of the two. For he affirms, that, before the coming in of Cæsar, the Britons waged war against the Scots and Picts, of the British soil, *i. e.* enemies dwelling in the British soil; so that *solī Britannī* is the genitive, not nominative case. The other he falsely assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of Paulus Orosius, a Spaniard, and Bede an Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were anciently called Scots; and then at length, when they sent colonies into Albium, the name Scots was almost extinguished at home, and began to grow famous abroad. In another place he contends, that the Caledonii were called Britons, grounding his assertion on no other argument, than that he finds they were called Britons, which is a name common to all who inhabit the same island. But I have shewn before, out of the place of the panegyric quoted by him, that the Caledonians were Picts. Marcellinus affirms the same thing, who says, that there are two sorts of Picts, the Dicaledones, or, as I think it ought to be writ, the Duncaledones and the Vecturiones. But the Caledonii, or Caledones, dwelt in Britain before the reign of Vespasian; neither were they unknown to the Romans, as Lucan plainly shews, who died in Nero’s time.

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

When raging seas on Sandwich shores do beat,
They never shake the Caledonian seat.

But why do I trouble myself to procure foreign

witnesses, seeing we have a clear and convincing one at home? I mean Bede, the writer of the ecclesiastical history of England; for he takes notice of the order, and almost of the very moments of time, wherein foreign nations came over into Britain. These are his words in his first book. "First of all, "the island was inhabited by Britons, whence it hath "its name, who from the Armoric tract, as it is reported, sailing over into Britain, possessed the "fourth part of it, and having seized upon the "greatest part of the island, beginning from the "south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, "coming (as it is reported) out of Scythia, and entering into the ocean, with long ships, or galleys, "but not many, were, by stress of wind and weather, "driven beyond all the bounds of Brittany into Ireland." And a few lines after, he says, "Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to settle themselves in the north parts of the island: "the southern being possessed by the Britons." And at length, after a few lines more, he adds, "In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the "Picts, took in a third nation of Scots, as part of "the Picts." Then, after many passages, he subjoins, "But the same Britain was inaccessible and "unknown to the Romans, until the time of C. Julius Cæsar." Whosoever thou art, who readest these passages, observe, I pray, whence, at what time, and in what order this author, much more ancient and grave than Ludd, doth affirm that these nations entered Britain, viz. that the Britons from the Armoric tract entered first, but the time not uncertain. That the Picts, out of Scythia, came next into those parts of Britain which were yet uninhabited, and that not long after the entrance of the Britons, who were not as yet increased into such a multitude, as to be able to inhabit the whole island. What then becomes of the Scots? When came they into Britain? In process of time, says he, viz. the

Picts granting them the uninhabited seats in their districts, they came after the two former. So the Britons, as Bede affirms, came into this island out of Armorica in France, and, not long after, the Picts out of Scythia; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited places: at last, the island being divided betwixt them, the Scots entered not by force, but were admitted into the portion and lot of the Picts, and that long before Britain was known to the Romans. Here, how will you deal with Ludd? who produces Gildas and Bede, as witnesses to his fables, viz. that the Scots and the Picts did first of all fix their habitations in Britain, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Honorius, in the year of Christ 420; of which two, Gildas makes nothing for him; and Bede doth evidently convince him of falsehood. But let the reader believe neither Ludd nor me, but his own eyes; and let him diligently weigh the places of each writer. But (says he) Dion calls the Caledonians, Britanni; I grant he does; so doth Lucan, as I noticed before, and also Martial, in that verse.

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos:

The Caledonians, which in Britain be,
Quintus Ovidius is about to see.

But none of them therefore deny them to be Picts; yet they have good reason to call them Britains: for, as the whole island is called Britain, so all its inhabitants are deservedly called Britains. For all the inhabitants of the isle of Sicily are generally called by the Romans, Sicilians, without any difference, though they themselves call one another, some Sicilians, others Siceliotes; so the possessors of Britain are, by foreigners, all called Britains; but they themselves often call the ancient inhabitants Britons, and the other people of different nations living there, sometimes by the private names of the countries whence they came, and sometimes by the common name of Britains. Wherefore the Cale-

donians, Picts and Scots, are sometimes called, each nation by its own name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general term, Britain. But Brittons, as far as I remember, no man ever called them.

There is also another difference amongst them, to be observed in the word Britannia; as there is amongst the Greeks and Latins in the word Asia. For Asia sometimes denotes the third part of the habitable world, and sometimes it is taken for that part of the greater Asia, which is situated on this side the mountain Taurus, and is wont to be called Asia the Less. So Britain is sometimes used for the name of the whole island in general; and at other times only for that part of it which was subjected to the Romans, which part was bounded sometimes by the river Humber, and sometimes by the wall of Adrian, and sometimes by the wall of Severus; and the inhabitants of this part are by British writers more usually called Brittons, than Britains; but the other persons living in the island, *i. e.* the Scots and the Picts, were called by Bede sometimes Britains, and sometimes *strangers* and *foreigners*. We may also find the same remarkable difference in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. And therefore the Caledonians will be counted Brittons never a jot the more, for being styled Britains by Dion, Martian, Lucan, or any other good author, than the Brutians will be Romans, though both of them are Italians. If Ludd had taken notice of these things, he had never involved himself in such dark labyrinths, nor had he so rashly and inconsiderately made a positive determination in a point so obscure, nor had denied the Caledonians to have been Picts, because they are termed by Dion, Britains. Neither hath Ludd any just cause to wonder, that no writer more ancient than Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian, hath made mention of the Scots and Picts, though they lived so many, I will not say years, but ages in Britain. For, not to speak

of the Valli, Cambri, Lægri, names lately known to the world, I may ask him, why, since so many Greek and Latin writers have written of the affairs of Greece, yet no Grecian once names his countrymen Græci; nor no Latin author calls them Hellenes? Why did the names of the nations which I mentioned but now, creep so late into the history of Britain, which that Cambro-Briton makes to be so ancient? If you ask any Englishman, of what country he is, none will answer, that he is a Saxon; yet the Scots, Picts, Irish, both the Britons, *i. e.* those that inhabit Britain, and those who dwell in France, do still unanimously call them Saxons. Why do not the old Scots, even to this very day, acknowledge and own the name of Scots? It ought not then to seem absurd to any man, if, when the Romans asked their captives, of what nation they were; one said a Mœatian, another an Attacottian, a third a Caledonian; and the names which foreign nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common public discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some names are more known to historians and strangers, and others to the inhabitants of the country. Though the premises make it sufficiently appear, that the coming of the Scots and Picts into Britain, is not only more ancient than Ludd will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the Britains themselves coming into it; yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible conjectures. The Brigantes, a great and powerful nation, were seated beyond the river Humber, about York, and possessed the whole breadth of the island, between the two seas; it is probable that they came not from the tract of France, which was nearest; for no Brigantes are said to have inhabited there, but out of Spain, first into Ireland, and from Ireland into Britain, as being a neighbouring island to it; neither doth this differ from the conjecture of Cornelius Tacitus, which he makes concerning the an-

cient inhabitants of the isle. If the Brigantes came from Ireland, then they must be of Scottish race, as all the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland were. Seneca also seems to confirm this opinion, in that elegant satire of his, concerning the death of Claudius, in these words :

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti,
Et cæruleos Scutabrigantas dare Romuleis
Colla catenis jussit, et ipsum nova Romanæ
Jura securis tremere oceanum.*

He, Britons, which beyond known seas did dwell,
And blue Scutabrigantes did compel
Rome's yoke to bear. The ocean widely spread
His government, and his new laws did dread.

In these verses Joseph Scaliger, the son of Julius, is of opinion, that for Scutabrigantes, we ought to read Scotobrigantes. Of how great learning and judgment that young man is ; of what industry in comparing ancient writers ; and of what acuteness in finding out the meaning of obscure passages, the works that he has published do declare. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the affairs of Britain, I thought his criticism was not to be omitted ; and I will declare in few words, why I think it to be true. For since we read in Cæsar, and other authors, eminent both for accuracy and knowledge, that the Britons were wont to paint their bodies with woad ; and in Herodian, that they used narrow shields in war, (such as Livy ascribes to the Asiatic Gauls), and no great ornament in their arms ; it seemed absurd to make mention of the shield, which was not painted, the mention of the body, which was painted, being omitted. Now, the old Britons were painted, not for comeliness, as several other nations were ; but that their bluish colour might render them more terrible to their enemies in fight ; but how that colour could appear terrible in a narrow shield, I do not understand. And there-

fore it is very probable, that that learned man, unskilful in British affairs, as who, according to Dion, kept the whole island under the oppression of usury, wrote the word Scotobrigantes, that he might distinguish them from the other Brigantes, both Spanish and Gallic. It makes also for the same purpose, that in those verses he separates the Britons and Brigantes, as two different nations; which is also done by some British writers, who make Humber to be the boundary of Britain. This matter not being well considered by Hector Boetius, as I judge, led him into a mistake; who having somewhere read, that the Silures and Brigantes were called Scoti, as having their original from Ireland, placed them in part of the kingdom of the Scots, in Albium. His mistake, though it might justly offend others, yet ought not to have been so severely censured by Ludd, who hath committed as great mistakes of the same kind; for he makes the Cumbri, or (as they call themselves) Cumri, to issue out of a corner of Britain, to plunder the whole world: for he infers from one or two words, common to them both, that the Cimbri and Britanni were of one nation. Those words are Moremarusa and Trimarchia: where it is worth the while to take notice of the man's acuteness in disputing, and of his subtilty, forsooth, in drawing inferences and conclusions. This word Moremarusa, says he, is a British word, but it was once a Cimbric one, and no nation's else, which dwelt near the Baltic sea. But since our countrymen use the same word, and are called by the same name with those other Cimbri; therefore, sure, both were of the same stock and nation.

In this matter, first, he affirms falsehoods for truths, and also takes uncertainties for certainties. For it is a manifest untruth, that both of them are called Cimbri, even if Ludd himself be a witness, who affirms, that all the inhabitants, his countrymen of Cambria, were so called from their king,

Camber, and he calls himself a Cambro-Briton. I could also prove the falsehood of this opinion, by the testimony of all his countrymen, who do not call themselves Cimbri, or Cumri. As that is false, so this is uncertain, whether other people living by the Baltic Sea did not use that word which you attribute to the Cimbri alone; especially, since it appears out of Tacitus, that many nations, in that tract of Germany, spoke the Gallic tongue, and I showed before that word to be Gallic. But suppose that both of your assumptions were true, what then? Did you never read, that the soldiers of Cn. Pompeius, when he waged war in Asia, were saluted by the name of brethren, by the Albans that inhabited the mountain Caucasus, by reason that both of them were called Albans? Neither do I doubt but that if a man had observed both tongues, he might have found one or two words signifying the same thing in both; but they wanted such a man as Ludd there, who, because both people had certain words common between them, would hereby prove, that both were of the same nation; and yet the purblind man seems to be sensible of the weakness of his conclusion, when he adds that the Cimbri were called *Æstiones* by the Germans; that he might make that out, he should have shewn at what time, and upon what grounds, the Cimbri were transformed into *Æstiones*, and the *Æstiones* again into Cimbri. He speaks not a syllable of this, but only cites a British history, collected out of the Milesian fables of the Gauls; and also quotes a certain fragment, whence he, being now degraded from an antiquary, to be either a botcher, or a scraper together of old useless relics, or (if I may so speak) a fragmentary, doth piece up new kingdoms and new nations for us; this he doth with great labour, and yet with no colour of probability, where yet it was very obvious to him (unless perhaps it was above

the poor man's reach), to find out the causes, why the name Cimber was communicated to the Cimbri and the Welsh too; for Plutarch says, that it was not the name of a nation, but of an occupation or employment, and that robbers were so called by the Germans. Suidas, no contemptible grammarian amongst the Greeks, understands the word in the same sense; and Festus Pompeius, amongst the Latins, writes, that the Cimbri were called robbers by the Gauls. If we follow these men's opinions, it will not be difficult to find out, why the Cimbri, whom Ludd places in Britain, came by that name, especially since their neighbours, the Angli, or English, affirm, that even in this age, their manners shew them too much inclined to the same practices of thievery. Sure I am, that Livy calls that slave who was sent to kill Marius in the prison of the Minturnæ a Gaul; Lucan calls him a Cimber; but no noted writer styles him a Briton. If Ludd had considered these things, or if, after consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new monsters to himself; there was no necessity for him, in one moment of time, or rather with one falsehood, to have left all Britain almost destitute and forsaken, all its military young men exhausted, and 600,000 of them drawn out of it at one single draft.

I will not here descend to a minute inquiry, to what male children the Welsh are wont to give the names of the Cimbric kings; for this diligent writer brings in this also as an argument of their ancient pedigree.

If I mistake not, the Latin, German, and Syriac names are the chief which he will find. But if a solid argument may be brought from the proper names of men (which are oftentimes arbitrarily imposed by parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some history), then Ludd might rather persuade us, that his countrymen are Jews, Romans, or

Germans, than Cimbri; or, if he would advise his compatriots to give baptismal names, searched out of history, to their children, within a few years he might transform his countrymen into what nation soever he pleased. But touching the names of the Cimbric kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to children, I would willingly ask the man from what oracle he received it? unless I knew beforehand, that he never wants some fragment, out of which he can prove what pleases himself. But this I cannot but admire, touching that Cimbric expedition, how all their military men being sent abroad, that within the space of 40 years (for it was about that interval, between the Cimbric war and Julius Cæsar's arrival in Britain), your country of Wales should soon recover to be so populous; especially since Maximus, having drawn forth a far lesser number out of Britain, even when it was in its most flourishing state, the Britains could never after hold up their heads, but were brought into bitter servitude by the Saxons; or why Cæsar, who lived high enough to remember the Cimbric war, when he came into Britain, being a learned man, and a great favourer of the Marian party, did find out nothing by inquiry concerning this Cimbric expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, whether Ludd spoke in jest or in earnest, when he added, that the affinity of both the Cimbri might be inferred from their equal contempt of gold and silver? Here I would willingly ask of him, whether he spoke in earnest, when he calls those Cimbrians very moderate and content with a little, who did not only vex and plunder Gaul, and a part of Spain too, but in a manner wholly wasted and destroyed them both? and yet, afterwards, hastened to Italy, in quest of a richer booty? Whose opulency, got by robberies, the Helvetians emulating, they also became plunderers, as Strabo relates in his seventh book. Dare you call such men frugal and temperate?

And that it may appear, that the Cimbric name is truly assigned to your nation, you make Welshmen emulous of those ways, to which the Cimbrians were addicted; and yourself, in chief, who ravage all nations to steal from them a little glory. For, not content to have arrogated the deeds of the Cimbri to your countrymen, you add, with as impudent and fictitious an untruth, that the Sicambri were also of your stock. And because, in the name of both nations, there is a certain similitude of letters, from that affinity of words you feign a conjunction of blood. At this rate, by their descent from the Sicambrians, the Franks, and their children's children, to all generations, will be allied to you; and so, by a packed series of lies, you raise a bridge to bring back the fugitive Brenni; of which, one, who took Rome, lived about an hundred years before the other, who besieged Delphos; but you jumble and compact them together into one body, that so you might dress up a new monster out of a dead and living man pieced together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other arguments, that monsters are born in that very country, which brought such a person as you forth. "But," says Ludd, "no writer acknowledgeth, that there were two Brennus's besides Polydore Virgil." Surely, Ludd, thy reason hath forsaken thee, or else thou hast never read the fourth book of Strabo, where he writes, "that the Brennus who besieged Delphos, is thought by some to be Prausus." Nay, not Strabo, alone, but every man who believes that Rome was taken by a Brennus, and that above an hundred years after Delphos was besieged by a Brennus, doth acknowledge, that there were two of that name; since both those enterprises could not be performed by one and the same man. But if we believe the monk, the compiler of the British history, Brennus, the brother of Belinus, preceded these two Brenni three hundred years; who, if he

had led his army into Italy at that time, must have fought with Numa Pompilius, or with Tullus Hostilius, and not with the free people of Rome. But to omit these things, whence doth this new logician gather that Brennus was a Briton? Forsooth, from one word only, viz. Trimarchia, which word is yet common to Scotch, Gauls, and Welch. Pausanias, whom you quote maimedly, and by piecemeal, that so he may make for your purpose, calls Brennus and his companions, Gauls, and acknowledgeth that word to be Gallic: But you, Sir, you only, such is your shamelessness, against the credit of all Greek and Latin historians, nay, and in spite of Minerva and all the Muses, do strive to prove him a Briton? Perhaps I have prosecuted this argument a little more prolixly, than either the obscurity of the matters themselves, or the unskilfulness and inconsistency of Ludd deserved; but I have done it, not out of desire to carp it, or blame others, (which I am far from), but to abate the unsavoury petulance of a man who abounds in abusive language, and that I might reduce him from a wild and extravagant rage, that makes him speak evil of almost all writers, and so to bring him, at last, to acknowledge his error. To omit others at present, he falls with great scurrility upon Hector Boetius, a man, not only uncommonly skilled in the liberal arts, for the age he lived in, but also endued with singular humanity and courtesy; but he so falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himself is not far more guilty. Hector places the Brigantes in Galloway, in which he did amiss; for I have no design to defend his mistakes: but Ludd brings out great forces of the Cimbri, from one corner of Britain; how truly, let the learned judge. Hector attributes matters acted by others against the Romans in Britain, to his countrymen, the Scotch. And Ludd doth shamelessly and falsely affirm, that Rome was taken, Macedonia vexed, Greece afflicted, the no-

blest oracle of the world sacrilegiously violated by his countrymen, the Britains; nay, that Asia itself was compelled to pay tribute to a few vagabonds. He blames Hector, but falsely, for making Gildo, who raised great commotions in Africa, a Scot; and yet he makes the same Gildo, who was indeed a Moor, to be a Goth; but Gildus and Gildo, forsooth, are names almost alike. Let me ask you, are they more alike than Luddus, Lydus, and Ludio? This is certain, that Gildus is an old name in Scotland, as the ancient clan of the Macgilds, or Macgills, doth shew; of whose posterity there are yet families remaining of good account, both in Scotland and in England. But since Ludd hath such an intemperate tongue, that he cares not what he says, provided he may abuse others, I shall leave him, and conclude this book, only giving him this caution, that

Loripedem rectus derideat, Ethiopem albus.

Let the well-shap'd deride the crooked back,
And the fair-featur'd woman scorn the black.

BOOK III.

THOUGH I have sufficiently demonstrated, in the two former books, how fabulous, yea, how like mere prodigies, the memoirs are, which the writers of the British affairs have delivered concerning their ancestors; have also shewn, by plain and clear evidences, that the ancient Britons had their original from the Gauls; yet because I perceive I have to do with such men as may be rather said to contend obstinately for a manifest falsehood, than fallen into a mistake by rashness or ignorance, I have thought it

worth my while to borrow proofs from writers that bear a great authority amongst all learned men, that I might take off the edge from the boldness of such hair-brained disputants; and, by that means, supply good men and lovers of truth with sufficient arms to strain and curb their daring and affronting impudence. In the rank of such classic authors, I judge, C. Julius Cæsar deserves the first place, both for his diligence in searching, his certainty in knowing, and sincerity in declaring things to others. He, in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries concerning the Gallic war, writing of Britain, says thus:—“The inner part of Britain is inhabited by such as they themselves record to be born in the island; and the maritime coasts, by such as came out of Belgium, to pillage and make war upon the island; who continued in the possessions they had gained by their arms, and were generally called by the names of the cities from whence they came. The country is infinitely populous, and well stored with houses, much like those of the Gauls; they have great store of cattle; they use brass for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certain rate. In its midland parts, there is found great quantity of tin, and, near the sea-coasts, iron, though but in a small quantity; their brass is brought in by other nations. They have all sorts of trees that they have in Gallia, excepting the beech and fir. Their religion will not suffer them to eat either hare, hen, or goose, notwithstanding they have of them all for their pleasure and diversion. The country is more temperate, and not so cold, as Gallia: the island lieth triangular, one side of which fronteth Gallia; on which side, that angle that Kent stands in, points to the east, where almost all ships arrive from France; and the lower angle, to the south; this side containeth about 500 miles. The other angle lieth toward Spain, and the western quarter, in that sun, where also Ireland lieth, which is an island half as large as

England, (as some think), and as far distant from it as Gallia. In the mid-way between England and Ireland, lieth an island, called Man; besides many other small islands, of which some write, that in winter time, for 30 days together, they have a continual night, whereof we learned nothing by inquiry; only we found, by the water-hour glass, that the nights in England were shorter than in the continent. The length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth 700 miles. The third side lieth to the north, and open sea, saving that this angle points a little toward Germany. This side is thought to contain 800 miles. And so the whole island containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most courteous and civil, all their country bordering upon the sea, and little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the inland people sow no corn, but live upon milk and flesh, and are clothed with skins. All the Britons have their faces painted with woad, which makes a blue colour, to the end they may seem more terrible in fight. They wear the hair of their heads long; having all other parts of their body shaven, except their head, and upper lip. Their wives are common to ten or twelve, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are born, are accounted his unto whom the mother was first given in marriage."

And a little after, he says,

"By these he understood that Cassivellan's town was not far off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattle. The Britons call that a town, when they fortify woody fastnesses with a ditch and rampart, and so make it a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies. Thither Cæsar marched with his army, and found it well fortified both by art and nature; and as he assaulted it in two several places, the enemy stood to it a while, but, at last, were not able to bear the

brunt and fury of the assailants, but made their escape a back way out of the town. Thus he took it, and found in it a great store of cattle, and slew and took prisoners many of the Britons in the onset."

Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola.

"I design here to give a clear account of the site of Britain, and of its inhabitants, though they have been already described by several writers. This I do, not to compare either my care or ingenuity with theirs, but as it was then first thoroughly subdued, so such things as our ancestors, without perfect discovery, have merely dressed up with their pens, shall now be faithfully set down upon knowledge. Britain, of all the islands known to the Romans, the greatest, coasteth by east upon Germany, by west towards Spain, and it hath France on the south; northward, no land lying against it, but only a vast and broad sea beating against it. Livy, among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns, the two most eloquent authors, have likened the figure or shape of all Britain to an oblong scuttle, or two-edged axe: and such indeed is the form and shape of that part on this side Caledonia, from whence the report of the whole being so made seems to take its rise; but there is, beside, a huge vast tract of ground, which runneth beyond even to the farthestmost point, growing narrow and sharp like a wedge. The Roman fleet then first of all winding about this utmost point in the sea, discovered Britain to be an island; and withal found out and subdued the isles of Orkney; never known before that time. Thule also was discovered, all over white with winter snow. The sea thereabout is, as they affirm, dull and heavy for the oar, and not to be raised, as other seas are, with winds; probably because of the scarcity of land and mountains, which commonly gather and cause tempests, and because

a deep mass of continual sea is slower stirred to rage.

“But examining into the nature of the ocean and its tides, is what does not properly belong to this work, and many have done it before. One thing I will add, and I may safely aver, that the sea hath no where in the world a more large and free dominion, that it no where carries so many river-waters to and fro; neither is it content to flow and ebb so far as the banks, but insinuates and winds itself into the land, shooting into the mountains and cliffs as to its own proper channels. Now, what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britain were, whether produced in the country, or imported from far, there is no coming at any certainty from them, as being a barbarous people. Their complexions are different, and thence may some conjectures be taken; for the red hair and the mighty limbs of those who inhabit Caledonia, bespeak them of German descent. The coloured countenance of the Silures, and hair most commonly crisped, and their having their situation against Spain, make it probable enough to believe, that the old Iberians passed the sea and possessed those places. The nearest to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retain something of the race from which they descended; or, that in countries which are near, and lie exactly over-against one another, the same aspects of the heavens may give their bodies the same cast of complexion. But, generally speaking, it is most likely that the French, being nearest, did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious persuasions, there is to be seen an apparent conformity; there is no mighty difference in the language. They are alike bold to challenge, and forward to run themselves into dangers; and when those dangers come, they are equally affrighted and concerned to be rid of them. Indeed the Britons make more shew of courage, as being not mollified

yet by long peace ; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as, giving themselves over to peace and idleness, cowardice crept in, and their manhood and their liberty went to wreck together : And so it also befel those Britons who were subdued of old ; the rest remain such sort of men to this day as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in foot ; some of the countries make war in waggons. The person of the first rank guides the waggon, and his attendants maintain the combat. They were formerly governed by kings, now they are divided by petty princes, into parties and factions : and that is the greatest help we have against those puissant nations, that they are disunited in their counsels : it seldom happening that two or three cities meet and concur to repulse a common danger : so, whilst they fight in small parties, they are all subdued. The sky is very cloudy, and much given to rain, without extremity of cold. Their days are longer than in our part of the world ; the nights light, and in the farthest part of the island, so short, that between the going out and coming in of the day, the space is hardly perceived ; and when clouds do not come in the way to hinder it, they affirm that the sunshine is seen in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth, but passeth along, the extreme and plain parts of the earth projecting a low shadow, which riseth but a little way up into the sky, and obscures not the atmosphere so far as to make dark night. The soil, setting aside the olive, the vine, and the rest which are proper to warmer countries, very kindly receives all kinds of grain, and beareth it in abundance ; it shooteth up quickly, and ripeneth slowly : the cause of them both is the same, the over-much moisture of the soil and the air. Britain produceth gold and silver, and other metals, which make it worth the conquering. The ocean bringeth forth pearl also, not orient, but duskish and wan ; which

proceeds, as some do suppose, from the want of skill in the gatherers. For in the Red Sea they are pulled out panting, and alive, from the rocks; but in Britain they are cast out by the sea, and so taken up. For my part, I rather believe the nature of the country to be such as not to yield it, than that our covetousness could not find out the way to gather it right.

“ The Britons endure levies of men and money, and all other burdens imposed by the empire, patiently and willingly, if insolencies be forborne : indignities they cannot abide, being as yet subdued to be only subjects, and not slaves.

“ The first of the Romans that entered Britain with an army, was Julius Cæsar ; who, although he terrified the inhabitants with a battle, which went on his side, and gained the shore, yet may seem rather to have shewed the place to posterity, than to have delivered to them the possession of it.

“ The civil wars ensued ; men of the first quality turning their arms against the republic of Rome ; then, and long after that, lay Britain forgotten, even in peaceable times. Augustus, and especially Tiberius, termed it a policy that it should lie so.

“ That Caius had a design to invade Britain, is certainly known ; but his rash running head, and changeable humour, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, averted that purpose.

“ Claudius did first effectually prosecute the matter, transporting legions and aids ; and taking Vespasian into the action, which was the first foundation of that grandeur to which he afterwards attained ; some countries were subdued, some kings led captive, and Vespasian made known to the world.

“ The first lieutenant-general was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula, both excellent warriors ; and so, by little and little, the nearest part of the

island was reduced to the form of a province; and besides, a colony of old soldiers established there. Certain cities were also bestowed, in pure gift, upon King Cogidunus, (who remained most faithful even in our days,) according to an old custom, anciently received among the Romans, to use even Kings themselves for instruments of bondage.

“Then Didius Gallus succeeded; who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and built some few castles farther in the land, to win by that means the reputation of having made some improvement.

“After Didius succeeded Veranius, who died within the space of one year.

“Then Suetonius Paulinus, for two years time, behaved himself fortunately, subduing the nations, and establishing garrisons. And in confidence of his successes, going to reduce the Isle of Man, which ministered supplies to the rebels, he dis furnished the country behind, and laid it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For, through the absence of the lieutenant, the Britons, freed from their fears, began to talk about the miseries of slavery, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by constructions and inferences, as that their patience had done them no good, unless it was only to draw heavier burdens upon them, as being men that seemed willing to bear them. That whereas in former times they had only one king, now two were imposed upon them, the lieutenant to suck their blood, the procurator to sponge upon their substance. If these two disagreed, their disagreeing was the torment of the subjects; and if they agreed, that was their undoing; the one harassing them to death with soldiers and officers; the other vexing them by wrongs and indignities. That now their covetousness and lust laid hold, without exception, on all. And whereas, in the field, he that spoileth is commonly the stronger; now were they, by cowards and weaklings for the most part, dispossessed

of their houses, robbed of their children, enjoined to yield soldiers for the service of other men, as if they were a people that could die for any other, and were only ignorant how to do it for their own country. For otherwise, what a small handful of soldiers were come over, if the Britons would but come to counting numbers? That Germany had shaken off the yoke, though they had no main ocean, but only a river, for their defence. That their cause of taking arms was urgent and just; their wives and children, their parents and their country, were the cause; that the Romans had no other cause, but that of their own covetousness and lust; and that they would doubtless depart, as Julius Cæsar had done, if the Britons would imitate the virtues of their ancestors, and not be dismayed with the doubtful event of one or two skirmishes. That men in misery had more courage and vehemency to attempt, and more constancy to persevere in their attempts; and that now even the gods seem to pity the poor Britons' condition, having sent the Roman captain out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, to another island. That now, being assembled, to advise and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point in an action of that nature, wherein, without question, it were more dangerous to be taken in the time of consultation, than in that of action. With these and the like speeches, inciting one another, by common consent they resolve to take arms under the conduct of Boadicea, a lady of the blood of their kings; for in matter of governing in chief, they make no distinction of sex. And first pursuing the soldiers which lay divided in garrison, and taking the forts, they next invaded the colony itself, as being the fountain-head of their slavery. In sacking of it they omitted no kind of cruelty, which either anger, or the rage of victory, could induce a barbarous people to practise. And unless, upon information given him of the revolt,

Paulinus had come speedily to succour his men, Britain had then been lost; which, with one prosperous battle, he restored to her former obedience, and made her patient in bearing the yoke; some few keeping out and remaining in arms, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some likewise who apprehended the lieutenant's private displeasure. He, though otherwise an extraordinary man, yet seemed to shew too much haughty and hard usage to those who surrendered themselves, and to revenge in a manner his own private injuries. It was upon this account Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place, as a more clement and exorable person, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receive their repentance; who having composed the troubles, and not caring to attempt any thing farther, resigned his post to Trebellius Maximus.

“Trebellius, a man unfit for action, and altogether unexperienced in camps, but using a kind of courteous and mild regimen, kept the country quiet. For now the Britons also had learned the good manners to put up with courtly tyranny that indulged them in the vices they liked; and the disturbances of civil dissensions gave him a plausible excuse for his doing nothing. But the soldiery, accustomed to warfare, grew wanton with ease, and began to be mutinous. Trebellius flying and absconding, escaped their first fury; and soon after resuming his place, without majesty, without authority, he ruled precariously, and at his soldiers discretion; and so both coming as it were to a capitulation, the army for a licence to do what they pleased, and the captain for a security of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloodshed.

“Vectius Bolanus succeeded him not only in his place, but in the loose irregularity of discipline; the civil wars continued the same, the same negligence with regard to the enemy, the same license in the

camp; only Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, had made himself popular, and got their good will instead of their obedience.

“ But when Vespasian, with the rest of the world, recovered Britain also, great captains, good soldiers, were sent, and the hope of the enemy was extremely abated. For, immediately, Petilius Cerealis struck a terror into them, by invading, upon his first entry, the Brigantines, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battles were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the Brigantes were either conquered or wasted.

“ And whereas Cerealis would doubtless have eclipsed the diligence and fame of another successor, Julius Frontinus, a great man, as he might well be called after that predecessor, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures; where, besides the valour of the enemy, he had the straits and difficulties of the places themselves to struggle with.”

Cicero to Trebatius, in the 7th Book of his Familiar Epistles.

“ I hear that in Britain there is neither gold nor silver. If that be so, yet I persuade you to catch what you can, and return speedily to us. But if we can attain our desire (without the help of Britain) do you act so, that you may be reckoned amongst my familiar friends.”

Paulus Orosius, speaking of Ireland, hath these words.

“ This (Ireland) being the nearest island to Britain, is narrower in circuit or space of ground than it, but more commodious for temper of soil and air; it is inhabited by the families of Scots. The isle of Anglesey, or rather Man, is also near to it; an island pretty large, of a good soil, which is also inhabited by the Scots.”

The same Author says,

“ The conqueror Severus was drawn into Britain by the revolt of almost all his allies there. After he had fought many great and notable battles, he judged it best to separate and divide that part of the island which he had regained, from the other unconquered nations, by a wall; and for this end he made a great trench, and a strong wall, fortified at the top with many towers, for the space of 130 miles, from sea to sea.”

Ado, archbishop of Vienna, gives the same account, almost word for word. The mistake of both in the number of miles, to be corrected, by writing 32 for 132.

Out of the 25th Chapter of Solinus.

‘ It (*i. e.* Britain) is surrounded by many isles, and those not inconsiderable, of which Ireland comes the nearest to it in bigness. It is an uncivil country, by reason of the savage manners of the inhabitants; but, otherwise, so full of pasturage and cattle, that if their herds in summer time be not now and then restrained from feeding, they would run a great danger of over-eating themselves. There are no snakes there, and but few birds. The people are inhospitable and warlike. When they have overcome their enemies, they first besmear their faces with the blood of the slain; right and wrong, good and evil, all is one to them. If a woman be delivered of a man-child, she lays his first meat upon her husband’s sword, and putting it softly into his mouth, gives him the first handsel of his food upon the very point of the weapon, praying (according to the manner of the country), that he may not otherwise come to his end than in battle, and amongst arms. They that love to be fine, trim the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-calves,

which wear as white and as clear as ivory. The men chiefly glory in the beauty of their armour. There is not a bee among them; and if a man bring of the dust, or the little stones from thence, and strew them among bee-hives, the swarms forsake their combs. The sea that is between Ireland and Britain, is stormy and rough most part of the year; so that it can hardly be sailed over, but a few days in summer-time. They sail in keels of wicker, done over with neats leather. How long soever their passage continueth, the passengers abstain from meat all the while; such as have thoroughly examined it, have esteemed the breadth of that narrow sea to be 120 miles. A tempestuous frith also divides the island of Silures from the coast that the Britons inhabit; the men of which island keep their old customs, even to this day. They utterly refuse buying and selling for money, but barter one commodity for another, providing things necessary rather by exchange than ready money. They worship the gods very devoutly. As well the women as the men boast of their knowledge of foretelling things to come. The French sea beats upon the isle of Thanet, which is divided from Britain with a narrow strait. It is happy in corn-fields, and a fat soil, and healthful not only to its inhabitants, but to others also. As there is no snake bred there, so, which is much more, the very earth of that island, to what place soever it is carried from thence, killeth that vermin."

Out of the Third Book of Herodian, translated into Latin by Politian.

"But Severus contrived delays on purpose, that he might not make his entrance into Rome poorly; for being desirous of victory, and fond of getting the surname of Britannicus, he sends the ambassadors home before he had done his business, whilst he

himself in the mean time, with great diligence, prepared all things necessary for war. His first and chief care was, to erect bridges on the marsh grounds, that so his soldiers might stand safe, and fight as well as upon firm ground; for many places in Britain are marshy, because of the frequent overflowings of the ocean. The barbarians themselves swim through these moors and marshes, and run up to the bellies in them, not regarding the mud, with their naked bodies: for they are ignorant of the use of garments to clothe them, but gird their bellies and their necks with iron, thinking that to be an ornament and sign of riches, as other barbarians do gold. And besides, they mark their bodies with various pictures, and with the shapes of all manner of animals; and therefore they wear no cloaths, lest they should hide the painted outside of their bodies. But they are a very warlike nation, and greedy of slaughter, and content themselves only with a narrow shield, and a lance. Indeed they wear a sword too, hanging down from their naked bodies, but are wholly ignorant of the use of coats of mail, or helmets, as judging them to be an hindrance and a luggage to them, in passing over the marshes, whose vapours, being exhaled by the heat, cause almost always a dark and a misty air."

Out of the 20th book of Ammianus Marcellinus.

"This was the state of affairs throughout Illyricum, and the eastern parts; but in the tenth consulship of Constantius, and third of Julian, when matters were very often disturbed in Britain, by the inroads of those barbarous nations, the Scots and Picts, and thereby peace was broken, and the places near their borders laid waste, which caused a general panic through the provinces, already tired with their many past slaughters, Cæsar, then being in his winter-quarters at Paris, was distracted with divers

cares; for he feared to assist those transmarine people, as I related before, though Constantius did, lest he should leave Gaul without a governor, in the mean time when the Almain, or Germans, were very eager on cruelty and war. And therefore he was pleased to send Lupicinus thither, to compose matters, who was a commissary-general of the army at that time, a stout man, and very skilful in military affairs, and prided himself much in his post, so that he was very supercilious and haughty; he spoke in a lofty tone, and strutted like a tragedian in his buskins; so that it was a great doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel. He, having caused the vanguard to march, viz. the Heruli, the Hollanders, and many of the Mœsici, came to Boulogne in the depth of winter. And embarking all his soldiers in those ships which he had provided, taking advantage of a favourable wind, he sailed to Sandwich, and so went to London, that there he might advise, and be in readiness to act according to all emergencies."

Out of his Twenty-Sixth Book.

"The Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, vexed the Britons with perpetual miseries."

Out of his Twenty-Seventh Book.

"It is sufficient for me to say, that at that time the Picts being divided into two nations, the Dicalledones, and the Vecturiones; and also the Attacotti, a warlike people, and the Scots, raging several ways, committed much spoil. The Franks and Saxons, as they had opportunity to make inroads by land or sea, plundered the Gallician tracts near to them, and carried from thence mighty booties, firing all before them, and killing those whom they took prisoners. To hinder this, fortune favouring

him, our warlike commander came into these extreme parts, from Boulogne, which is divided from the land he was to make by the straits of the sea; which is wont to be raised by high tides, and again levelled in a calm, like a plain, without any prejudice to the mariners; from thence he easily passed over to Richborough, a safe harbour over-against it; whence being followed by the Batavi, Heruli, and Jovii, trusting to their conquering numbers, he came to the old town of London, since called Augusta,—where, dividing his troops, he set upon the predatory bands of his enemies, and they being laden with spoils, he quickly overcame them: and putting them to flight, he rescued from them the captives whom they drove bound before them, and their cattle, and all the prey which our poor tributaries had lost. He restored all to the losers, except a small part bestowed on his wearied soldiers. Thus he re-entered the city in triumph, before forlorn, but now relieved by him. Big with this prosperous success, he designed greater matters, and intended to follow safe counsels, for which he took time; for he had learned both by prisoners and deserters, that such scattered troops of sundry nations, and those fierce ones too, could not be conquered but by stratagem or surprise. So that he made edicts, and proposed impunity, and by that means called in stragglers and deserters. Hereupon many returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful, required Civilis to be sent to him to govern Britain, a man of a sharp wit, and very just and honest; and also Dulcitius, a commander very skilful in warlike affairs.”

Out of the 39th Book of Dion.

“Cæsar having first of all Romans passed the Rhine, sailed afterwards over into Britain, in the consulship of Pompeius and Crassus. The island is extended 450 stadia at least beyond the Morini. It

fronts the rest of Gaul, and almost all Spain, reaching out into the sea. It was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans. And their posterity doubted whether it was a continent or an island; and many writers who were ignorant of the truth, as having not seen it themselves, nor had any information from the inhabitants, (but spoke only by a conjecture), in their writings, as their leisure and humours were, some counted it one, and some the other. But in process of time, when Agricola was chief commander, and afterwards in the time of Severus the emperor, it was clearly found out to be an island. Cæsar, when he had settled things in France, and subdued the Morini, desired to go over thither; and accordingly he transported his foot, where it was most convenient, but he landed not where he ought to land. For the fame of his coming being noised abroad, all the Britons had preposessed the passages of the continent. But he, sailing beyond a prominent rock, made his descent elsewhere, and repulsing those who first hindered his landing, he put his men on shore before many of the Britons could unite to oppose his troops; and afterwards he repelled their aids. Yet not many of the barbarians were slain; for they fighting on horseback, and out of chariots, easily avoided the Romans, who had then no horse-forces. But being amazed at those things which were related concerning the Romans from the continent, and that they were so bold as to transport themselves, and make their descent into this island, they sent some of the nation of the Morini, their friends and allies, in embassy to Cæsar. First of all Cæsar demanded hostages, and they promised them; but afterwards perceiving that the naval force of the Romans, both those that were arrived, and those that were coming, were shattered by tempests, they changed their minds, yet they did not openly set upon them (for their camp was well guarded), but having surprised

some of them, who were sent in a peaceable manner to provide things necessary, they put them almost all to the sword; excepting some whom Cæsar speedily relieved: and presently they made an onset on his camp, but were shamefully repulsed, without effecting any thing: yet they came not to terms with Cæsar, till they had been often worsted by him. On the other side, Cæsar had no great mind to make a league with them: but the winter being now at hand, and his forces not then sufficient to carry on the war, many of those he had brought over being dead or slain; and besides, the Gauls, in his absence were attempting alterations; he clapt up a peace with them, in a manner, against his will, demanding many hostages, but receiving a few only. Then he sailed back again to the continent, where he quelled the mutineers, and settled affairs; neither reaped he any public or private advantage from Britain, worth his labour; save only the reputation of making a descent upon it. For this very reason he was much pleased in himself, and his friends did mightily extol him at Rome. For when they saw that places before unknown, were now brought to light; and before never heard of, were now discovered, they embrace their hopes, as if they had been enjoyments, antedating their success, they rejoiced as if they had already obtained their desired conquest, and therefore they decreed supplications to the gods for twenty days."

Out of the first Chapter of the first Book of Bede.

"The islanders profess one and the same theology, and that in five tongues, viz. of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins; which, by the study and meditation of the scriptures, is made common to all the rest. But in the first place, the Britons only inhabited the island, from whom it took its name; who coming over into Britain, as it is reported, from the Armoric country, seized upon the

southern parts of it. And they having possessed a great part of the island, beginning from the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts venturing to sea with a few galleys, as is reported, from Scythia, made their descent in Ireland, the winds hurrying them beyond all the coasts of Britain, and penetrated even to the northern parts there; where finding the nation of the Scots, they desired part of their allotment for their habitation, but could not obtain it."

Out of the fifth Chapter of the first Book of the same Author.

"Severus, an African, born at Labeda near Tripoli, the seventeenth from Augustus Cæsar, obtained the empire, which he held seventeen years. He being of a fierce disposition, as always vexed with continual wars, governed the commonwealth with great valour indeed, but with equal toil. And being a conqueror in the civil wars, which were very grievous in his time, he was forced to go over into Britain upon the revolt of almost all his allies; where, after many great and cruel battles, he gained part of the island, and divided it from the unconquered part, not with a wall (as some think), but with a trench only. For a wall is made of stones; but a trench, wherewith camps are fortified to repel the force of enemies, is made of turf cut out of the earth; yet it is built like a wall, high above the ground, so that there is a ditch before it, out of which the turfs are digged and heaved up, before which pallisadoes made of strong wood are prefixed. Wherefore Severus drew a great ditch, and a firm trench, fortified with many towers above, from sea to sea; and then he died at York."

Out of the 12th Chapter of the same Book.

"Afterwards Britain being despoiled of all her armed soldiery, and of the flower of her valiant

youths, who were carried away prisoners by the severity of tyrants, and never returned again, was laid open to be preyed upon and plundered, as being wholly ignorant of the art of war. At last it was suddenly harassed by two transmarine nations, the Scots from the south, and the Picts from the north; under whose yoke she groaned many years: I call them transmarine nations, not because they had their habitations out of Britain, but because they were remote from the allotment of the Britons, two creeks of the sea running betwixt them, one of them from the east sea, and the other from the west, running far into land, though they reach not one to the other. The eastern one hath in the midst of it the city Guidi. The western one above, *i. e.* on the right hand of it, hath the city Alcluth, which in their tongue signifieth a rock; for Cluth is situated by a river of the same name. By reason of the incursions of these nations, the Britons send ambassadors to Rome with complaining letters, craving aid of them with mournful supplications, and promising perpetual subjection to them, if they would drive away those enemies that were at their very doors. Upon this an armed legion was appointed for their assistance, which being transported into the island, and fighting with their enemies, slew many of them, and drove the rest beyond the limits of their allies. And thus, having delivered them from their cruel bondage, they advised them to build a wall within the island between the two seas, which might be a safeguard to them to repel their enemies; and then, in great triumph, they returned home. They, hearkening to their advice, erect a wall, as enjoined, not so much with stones as turfs; but, having no eminent artificers fit for such an undertaking, it was good for little. They made it between the two seas or bays (of which I lately spoke) for many miles; that so where the waters were not a defence, there, by the advantage of the wall, they might secure their borders from the inroads of their enemies. The evi-

dent marks of, and footsteps of this high wall and work, remain to this day. It begins at almost a mile distant from the monastery of Kebercurnig, toward the west, in a place called, in the Picts language, *Peonfahel*, but in the English, *Penneltum*, and bending against the west it is terminated by the city Alcluth. But their old enemies, as soon as they perceived that the Roman soldiers were departed, manned out a fleet, and broke into their borders, killing and spoiling all before them; and, as if they were corn ready for the sickle, they mowed, trampled upon, and destroyed them. Now the Britons send a second embassy to Rome, with redoubled complaints and lamentations, desiring aid, lest their miserable country should be wholly destroyed; and the name of a Roman province, wherewith they had been honoured so long, should now grow cheap and precarious by the invasion of foreigners. Accordingly another legion was sent, which, according to command, arriving in autumn, made a great slaughter of their enemies, and drove all that made their escape beyond the seas; who before annually drove all their preys beyond those seas without any resistance. Then the Romans told the Britons, that they could come no more on such chargeable and toilsome expeditions for their defence, but they advised them to take arms themselves, and fight with their enemies; that, were it not for their sluggishness, they might be an overmatch for them. Moreover, they thought it advantageous to their allies, whom they must leave, that a wall should be drawn directly from sea to sea, between the cities which were there built, for fear of enemies, where also Severus made a trench. This wall they built accordingly with firm stone, both with the public and private purse, (as is yet to be seen), taking to their assistance a company of the Britons. It was eight feet broad and twelve high, in a direct line from east to west. Both this and that of Severus are yet to be

seen. After they had built it, they gave instructions to the inhabitants for their defence, and afforded them examples for their training up in arms; but on the south shore, where their ships rode at anchor, because from thence they feared the irruptions of the barbarians, they erected towers at proper distances for the prospect of the sea; and so they took their leaves, as never intending to return."

And a little after,

"In short, they fly and are dispersed, leaving the cities and wall; their enemies follow, and make more cruel slaughter than ever before. For as lambs are devoured by wolves, so were the poor inhabitants torn in pieces by their enemies; so that being ejected out of their habitations, and in danger to be starved, they exercised robberies and mutual rapines, to keep themselves alive. Thus they increased external slaughters by domestic broils, till all the country was quite despoiled of food, but what was got by hunting."

Out of the Epistle of Gildas.

"Whom he commanded to build a wall between the two seas across the island, that it might be a terror to enemies, and a defence to the inhabitants. And after, the remainders of them sent again lamentable letters to Ætius, a man of great authority in Rome, beginning thus: "To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons;" and a little after they complain, "The barbarians compel us to the sea, the sea beats us back to the barbarians. Between these two kinds of death, we are either killed on land, or drowned at sea, neither have we any fence of relief against either of them."

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING A CHRONICLE OF ALL ITS KINGS, IN AN EXACT SERIES OF SUCCESSION, FROM FERGUS, THE FIRST FOUNDER OF THE SCOTTISH MONARCHY, TO THE REIGN OF KING JAMES SIXTH OF SCOTLAND, AND FIRST OF ENGLAND.

HAVING undertaken to write the history of our nation, that the series thereof might appear more plain to the reader, I have in my former books premised a few ancient memoirs, and especially those which are freest from fabulous vanities, and are also most consonant to old writers.

First of all, it is constantly reported, and there are many evidences to confirm the same, that a great multitude of Spaniards, driven out of their own country by their powerful dons, or else voluntarily departing by reason of their superabounding populousness, transported themselves into Ireland, and seized upon those places of that island which were nearest to them; afterwards the healthiness of the air, and the fatness of the pasturage, invited many others to follow them; especially seeing their seditions at home, and the injuries offered them by foreigners, (to which Spain was always subject,) drew many thither in hopes of a quieter life, (which voyage they were more easily persuaded to undertake,) because they looked upon themselves as going into an island already possessed by their own people, and by that means, as it were, their second country. This stock of Spaniards did so flourish and increase, in a country fit for propagation, that now they were not contented within the bounds of Ireland, but frequently made emigrations into the lesser islands near adjacent.

In the mean time the Scots (for that was the ge-

neral name of the whole nation,) propagating their bounds through the islands of Æbudæ, and dispersing themselves by tribes and kindreds, without either king or any fixed government; a German, or, as Bede writes, a Scythian fleet came to the coasts of Ireland, being driven thither, it is very probable, by stress of weather; for they had not their wives or children aboard with them. They being very poor, having nothing left them by reason of so long a voyage, but only their arms, sent ambassadors to the Scots, desiring them that they might inhabit amongst them. Answer was sent them, that they themselves were compelled to seek their habitations in those small islands, which, by reason of the bareness of the soil, were also unfruitful; and if it were otherwise, yet all of them, if they should forsake them quite, would not be sufficient to entertain so great a multitude. But in regard they pitied the common miseries of mankind, and were particularly affected with their condition, whom divine Providence had so grievously afflicted; and who did not seem to be wholly strangers to their lineage, (as by their language and customs appeared,) they would therefore give them their advice, and, as far as they were able, would assist them to execute it. Their advice to them was, to sail to their neighbour island, Albium, which was large and fruitful, and in many places then uninhabited; and also, by reason of the condition of those inhabitants that were in it, who were under several kings, at feud one with another, was consequently very weak. That amidst those discords it would be easy for them, by supporting the weaker side, to make themselves masters of that large country; and that, in this matter, they would afford them their assistance.

The narrowness of the Æbudæ, and the lowness of their own condition, for so it then was, made them give ear to this counsel. So that these Ger-

mans (who were afterwards, both by the Romans, and their neighbouring nations called Picts), landing upon the coasts of the island bordering on the German sea; and having expelled the inhabitants, which were but few, and those at mutual discord amongst themselves, they brought a great part of that district under their subjection; and soon after, in prosecution of the friendship with the Scots, so happily begun, they intermarried with them, and so were, in a manner, compacted into one nation with them. By this mutual intercourse betwixt them, a great many Scots, being either detained by their allies, who were yet but weak, or else driven by want and penury, or induced by the love of their relations, fixed their habitations amongst the Picts. The Picts at first were glad of their coming; but when they grew numerous, by degrees they began to fear, lest, if the Scots increased in strength, they would become their masters; so that, first in their private assemblies, and afterwards in their public councils, they gave out that great cautions should be taken to hinder foreigners from being admitted among them, and some way found out to lessen the number of those who were already admitted. A rumour also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from heaven to the Picts, that their nation should in time be extirpated by the Scots. These suspicions caused the two nations, which before were very amicable, to part companies. The Scots betook themselves to the mountainous places, which were less fit for culture, in regard they were most addicted to pasturage and hunting; and the Picts possessed the low lands, which were more fertile and fit for tillage, situated near the German sea. Thus their friendship, before contracted by so many mutual kindnesses, did soon break forth into a terrible civil war. For the seeds of a deadly hatred were sown between those two nations, both of them being of fierce dispositions; though the occasion at first was but tri-

vial, as some little feuds and petty animosities, or some few injuries sustained.

The Britons, being enemies to both nations, having got this opportunity, fomented the dissensions; and freely offered aid to the Picts, even before they desired it, against the Scots. When the Scots perceived that these things were in agitation against them, they sent elsewhere for aid, and procured a foreign king to assist them against so imminent a danger. The commanders of the islanders, being almost all of equal authority, and scorning to stoop one to the other; Fergus, the son of Ferchard, was sent for with forces out of Ireland, being counted the most eminent person among the Scots, both for advice and action. He, by the public consent of the people, was chosen king, and charged to prepare his army to undergo the shock of a battle, if need required. Just about the same time a rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the ears both of the Scots and Picts, that the Britons were playing the double, and laying plots and counterplots equally pernicious to both nations; and that they would set upon the conquered and conquerors together, with their arms; and destroying both, or else driving them out of the island, they themselves would enjoy the whole. This report made both armies doubtful what course to take; and for a time kept them both within their trenches. At length they came to a treaty, and, perceiving the secret fraud of the Britons, they inclined to make peace one with another; which being confirmed, the three different armies returned home. The Britons failing in their first project, had recourse to another stratagem. They sent in robbers underhand amongst the Picts, who drove away their cattle; when the Picts demanded restitution, they answered, that they should seek it from the Scots, who were accustomed to thieving and plundering, rather than from them. Thus they eluded the embassy, and sent away their ambassa-

dors without their errand; so that the matter appeared to be a plain mockery. Their fraudulent counsels being thus more and more discovered, the late reproach incensed the hearts of both nations against them, more than the remaining grudges and resentments for their former injuries; and therefore levying as great an army as they could, both kings invaded, two several ways, the coasts of the Britons; and putting the country to fire and sword, returned home with a great booty. To revenge this loss, the Britons entered Scotland, and came as far as the river Don; and having ravaged the country thereabouts, with greater terror than loss to the inhabitants, they pitched their tents upon the bank of the river. Fergus having sent their wives and children, and other portable things, into the mountains, and places inaccessible to armies, secured all the avenues, till the Picts came up; with whom he at length joined his forces, and, communicating counsels one with another, they resolved to make a diversion, and lengthen the war, by making an incursion with vast forces into their enemy's country; and so to weary them out. But Coilus (that was the name of the king of the Britons) understanding by his spies the cause of their delay, sends five thousand men before to lie in ambush in the upper grounds, and he determined to lead forth the rest of his army directly against the enemy. When the Picts knew this, they again consulted with the Scots, and, by way of prevention, they agree to assault the camp of the Britons by night; and accordingly, drawing out their forces, the Scots in the front, the Picts in the rear, attack their enemies before day; and, by this means, they made a great slaughter of the Britons, being as it were half asleep, whom the former delays of their enemies had made secure and confident. In this battle Coilus himself fell, with the greatest part of his army, and made the place in which it was fought famous, from his name. Fergus returning

home a conqueror, the Scots settled the regal government upon him and his posterity, by the solemnity of an oath. Afterwards, having quieted matters in Scotland, he returned back into Ireland, to quell seditions there; where having composed all things, as he was returning home, a tempest arising suddenly, he was drowned, not far from the port called from him Fergus's rock, *i. e.* Knock-Fergus, or Carrick-Fergus, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Historians say, that his coming into Albium was at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon; about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ.

FERITHARIS, second King of Scotland.

Fergus dying, left two sons behind him, Ferlegus and Mainus; neither of them yet able to manage the government; so that the chiefs of the clans meeting together to declare the succeeding king, there was great contention amongst them; some urging the late oath, whereby they had bound themselves to preserve the sceptre in the Fergusian family; others alleging what great hazards they might run under an infant king. At last, after a long dispute, a medium was found out; whereby neither the infant, not yet fit to manage the government, should actually reign, nor yet their oath be violated; which was, that, whilst the children of their kings were infants, one of their kindred, who was judged most accomplished for the government, should act as regent; and if he died, then the succession of the kingdom should descend to the former king's sons. This law obtained for almost 1274 years, even until the days of Kenneth III. of whom I shall speak in his place. By virtue of this law, Feritharis, brother to Fergus, obtained the kingdom, and managed it fifteen years, with such equity and moderation, that his subjects found him a just king; and the orphans

or pupils a good guardian. Having, by this carriage, procured peace abroad, and got the love of his subjects at home; yet he could not allay the ambition of his kindred. For Ferlegus, being inflamed with a desire to reign, and having first communicated his design to the most turbulent of the soldiers, such particularly as were most desirous of innovation and change, comes to his uncle, and demands the kingdom of him, which he held (as he alleged) not as his own, but in trust only for him. Feritharis was so far from being disturbed at this rash undertaking of the young man, that, calling an assembly of the States together, he declared to them, that he was ready to lay down and resign the regal sceptre, adding also many words in commendation of the young man; as for himself, he had rather freely and willingly resign up the kingdom, with which he was but entrusted, which his death, now near at hand, would deprive him of, that so his fidelity towards his nephews might appear to be more the effect of good-will than of necessity. But such was the respect and love that all bore to Feritharis, that they utterly disliked this over-hasty desire of the kingdom in Ferlegus, and they manifested it, not only by their countenances and frowns, but by the loud acclamations of the whole convention and assembly. And having discovered, by spies, the conspiracy against the uncle, though they judged the author of so detestable a design to be worthy of death; yet the memory of his father Fergus, and the present favour and desires of his uncle, prevailed so far, that they did not inflict it on him for his designed wickedness, only they set guards and spies upon him, who were to watch over, and pry into all his words and actions. But he, impatient presently to obtain what he hoped for in his mind, though the delay would have proved but short, deceiving his keepers, with a few others privy to his design, made his escape; flying first to the Picts, and finding there

no encouragement for his desired innovation, afterwards to the Britons, where he lived an obscure, and consequently an ignoble life. But Feritharis, a few months after, was taken off; it is doubtful whether by disease or treachery. The former ambition of Ferlegus, the detection of his conspiracy, and his late flight, raised such suspicions of his being guilty of his death, that he was unanimously condemned in his absence, about the fifteenth year after his father's death.

MAINUS, the third King.

Ferlegus being condemned, Mainus, his brother, was created third king of the Scots; a man more like to his father and uncle, than his brother Ferlegus. He confirmed and settled peace with his neighbours abroad, punished the wicked and profligate at home, and constantly performed religious exercises; whereby he procured to himself such an opinion of justice and piety, that, as well foreigners as his own subjects, thought it a nefarious thing to hurt such a person. He was better guarded by this opinion of his sanctity, than by his military forces. After he had reigned twenty-nine years, he departed this life, being much lamented by all good men.

DORNADILLA, the fourth King.

He left a son behind him, called Dornadilla, the successor of his kingdom; in point of equity, like his father, but very unlike him in the other parts of his life. For he spent much of his time in hunting, as judging that exercise to be proper enough in a time of peace, and healthful; and, what was still more, very beneficial to harden the body for war. And besides, it is by that exercise the mind receives the purest pleasures, and is mightily strengthened

against covetousness, luxury, and other vices, which spring from idleness. Report says, that the laws about hunting, which the ancient Scots observe to this day, were made by him. He deceased in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

NOTHATUS, the fifth King.

After his death, the people placed Nothatus, his brother, on the throne, his own son Reutherus being yet immature in point of age for the government. This Nothatus changed the form of it, which till then had been moderate, and bounded with laws, into an arbitrary domination; and, as if his subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he punished high and low, promiscuously, with forfeiture of goods, banishment, death, and all sort of miseries, so that scarce any addition could be made to his cruelty. By these severities, most of the people were cowed out; only one Dovalus of Galloway, an ambitious man, thinking it a seasonable opportunity for him to advance himself, by reason of the people's hatred against their king; and knowing also that his own life was insidiously aimed at by the king, he resolves to prevent him. And accordingly, all things being in readiness, and being accompanied with a great number of his vassals and friends, away goes he to the king, and openly upbraids him with the slaughter of the nobility, with the seizure of their goods and estates, and with his enslaving the commonalty; and demands of him to restore the kingdom, which he was not able to manage, to the right heir. Nothatus, being thus bearded and affronted, contrary to his expectation, yet remitted nothing of his former stoutness, but answered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly prerogative; and, if he had carried it somewhat despotically, it was to be imputed not to his own disposition,

but to the contumacy of the subjects, who had enforced him thereto. These taunts increased the animosities between them, so that at last it came to blows, and Nothatus was slain by Dovalus and his partisans, after he had reigned cruelly and avariciously twenty years.

REUTHERUS, *the sixth King.*

This done, Reutherus was made King by the Dovalian faction, without the suffrages of the people. The nobles, hearing of it, though they judged Nothatus worthy of the worst of punishments, yet did not approve so bad an example; and they took it in greater disdain, because a public convention was not consulted, but the choice of the chief magistrate devolved on the pleasure and abutement of one man; besides that it was not to be thought an obliging act in him, thus to advance the young man to the chief power, who was as yet unfit to rule. For such as looked narrowly into the matter, would find, that only the name of king would be given to Reutherus, but the whole power would reside in Dovalus. However, it did not much concern the public whether Nothatus or Dovalus were king, unless perhaps they hoped for a more tolerable life under him, who, being a private man, durst adventure to murder his king, and so to deliver over the sceptre to another in a private manner, than under one, who was not so extreme or cruel in his government, until, by the permission of the people, he was backed with power and with the terror of an army. The kindred of Nothatus, hearing such things to be reported abroad, insinuating themselves into the company of those who did regret such high misdoings, at last gained this point, that war should be declared against Dovalus; and that Ferchard, Nothatus's son-in-law, should be general of their army. Neither did

Dovalus refuse to give battle; they fought twice in one and the same day; the Dovalians, though superior in number, yet were beaten and put to flight, more of them being slain in the pursuit, than in the battle. For, besides Dovalus himself, and the chief of his faction, there fell also Getus, the king of the Picts, with many of his men. Reutherus, the new king, was taken prisoner, and pardoned, out of respect to his tender age, to the memory of his father, and to the royal blood which ran in his veins. Neither was the victory unbloody, even to the conquerors themselves, almost all the chiefs of the clans being slain, with many common soldiers into the bargain. This conflict brought the interests of the Scots and Picts to that low ebb in Britain, that they who survived fled into desert and mountainous places, and even into the neighbouring islands, lest they should become a prey to the Britons; who having now got that opportunity, which they long thirsted after, penetrated into the country, as far as Bodotria, (now called Forth,) without any resistance. Afterwards, having made a little settlement of things there, they went forward against the Caledonians, and, having dispersed those who were gathered together to oppose them, they seized upon the champaign countries of the Picts, and, placing garrisons there, thinking the war to be at an end, they returned home with their army. In the mean time, the remainders of the Scots and Picts, which had retired to the mountains, woods, and other inaccessible places, vexed the governors of castles and garrisons by robbing them of their cattle, upon which they lived; and being increased by the accession of greater forces from the islands, they sometimes burnt villages, and plundered far and near, so that the ground was left without tillage in many places. The Britons, either being detained by home-bred dissensions, or not thinking it advisable or safe to lead their army into

such difficult and almost inaccessible places, where they could meet their enemies with no forces more numerous than they had to oppose them, did, by their slow actings, increase the boldness of their opponents. The Scots and Picts being thus miserably afflicted for twelve years, at length a new fry of lusty warlike youths grew up, (who, in so great straits that they had undergone, were inured to hardship,) those sent messengers all about, and, mutually exhorting one another, they resolved to try their fortunes. Whereupon Reutherus sails out of Ireland into the Æbudæ, and from thence into Albium, and landing his forces at the bay now called Loch-Brien, and there joining with young Gethus, the son of old Gethus, who was his wife's brother, they consulted together concerning the management of the war. The issue of their conference was, that it was best to draw towards the enemy unawares, whilst he was unprepared. As soon as they met, the service was so hot, and the fight so sharp, that neither army had reason to boast; so that both of them being wearied with slaughter, made peace for some years. Reuther, or (as Bede calls him) Reuda, returned to his ancient seat of Argyle; and the Scots were, a long time after, from him called Dalreudini; for Daal in old Scottish signifieth a part, as some say, or a meadow or plain, as others affirm. From whence he made a farther progress, and in a short time enlarged his dominions even to their ancient bounds. After he had reigned twenty-six years, he died, leaving a son behind him, named Thereus, begot upon the daughter of Gethus.

REUTHA, the Seventh King.

Because Thereus was yet scarce ten years old, and so too young to undertake the kingdom, according to the law long before made and observed, concerning the succession of kings; therefore his

father's brother Reutha was declared king: who, being free from wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the people, who were grown almost wild by their former sufferings, and also insolent upon their late victory, though a bloody one, into a milder carriage and deportment; and accordingly he enacted many public and profitable laws, of which not a few yet remain amongst the Scots. Having reigned seventeen years, with so good a conduct, being revered and beloved by all; either for want of health, (to which he himself imputed it), or else fearing the ambitious nature of his kinsman Thereus, he resigned up the government, the people being hardly brought to give their consent to it; and at his resignation there was a large panegyric made in his praise.

THEREUS, the Eighth King.

Thereus was substituted in his stead. In the first six years of his reign, he so managed the government, that Reutha's predictions concerning him seemed to be true. But after that time was expired, he ran headlong into all manner of vice, insomuch, that putting the nobles to death by false indictments, some lewd fellows thereupon did, without fear, range over all the kingdom, acting rapines and robberies at their pleasure. The Phylarchi (*i. e.* chiefs of the clans), bewailing the deplorable state of the public, determined to proceed judicially against him, which he having notice of, fled to the Britons; where, despairing of his return, he ended his days in great contempt and ignominy. In the mean time, Conanus, a prudent and regular person, was elected viceroy. He restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened; he restrained robberies, and having composed matters as well as he could, he received news of the death of Thereus; whereupon, in a

public assembly or convention of the estates, he abdicated the magistracy, about the twelfth year after Thereus began to reign.

JOSINA, the Ninth King.

Josina, brother of the late king, was raised to the helm of government. He did nothing memorable one way or other, only he held physicians in very high esteem; because, when he was banished with his father into Ireland, they had been his great intimates. Whereupon, the rest of the nobility complying with the humour of the king, it came to pass, that for many ages there was scarce a nobleman or gentleman in Scotland who had not the skill to cure wounds; for there was then little use of other parts of physic amongst such men, who were educated parsimoniously, and inured to much labour and toil. He died in a good old age, having reigned four-and-twenty years.

FINNANUS, the Tenth King.

His son Finnanus succeeded him, who, walking in his father's steps, endeavoured nothing more than to accustom his subjects to a just and moderate government; labouring to maintain his kingly authority more by good-will than arms; and that he might cut up the root of tyranny, he made a decree, "That kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance without the authority of their great council." He was beloved both by his subjects and by foreigners. He deceased, having reigned thirty years.

DURSTUS, the Eleventh King.

Nothing did so much aggravate the loss of Finnanus, as the profligate and debauched life of his

son Durstus, who succeeded him. For first of all he banished from his presence his father's friends, as troublesome abridgers of his pleasures; then he made the most corrupt youngsters his familiar and bosom friends, giving himself wholly up to wine and women. He drove away his wife, the daughter of the king of the Britons, who was prostituted to his nobles. At length, when he perceived that the nobility were conspiring against him, as if he had been just then awakened out of a deep sleep; foreseeing that he was not safe at home, and knew not where to find a secure place abroad, if he were banished, in regard he was so hated both by his subjects and strangers too, he therefore thought it his best course to pretend a repentance for his former evil life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal government, and in time be revenged of his enemies too. And thereupon, in the first place, he recalled his wife, and by that means endeavoured to make fair weather with the Britons. He assembles the heads of his subjects, and, under a solemn oath to do so no more, he enacts an amnesty for what was past. He commits notorious criminals to prison, as if he had reserved them for farther punishment; and religiously promised, that for the future he would act nothing without the counsel of his nobles. When by these arts he had made others believe that he was a true convert, he celebrates this reconciliation and concord with plays, feasting, and other entertainments proper for public rejoicings. Thus all men's minds being filled with jollity, he invites the nobility to supper; and then shutting them up in one place, being unarmed and fearing nothing, he sent in ruffians amongst them, who destroyed them all to a man. That calamity did not so much abate and quell the minds of the rest with fear, as it raised and blew up their languishing anger into new flames; wherefore, gathering a great army together, they all conspired to rid

the earth of so foul a monster. Durstus perceiving that all other hope failed him, resolved to try his fortune in a battle, with a few others, whom the like fear of punishment for the wickedness of their former lives, had drawn in to join with him; in which fight he was slain after he had reigned nine years. Though all orders and estates were justly incensed against him; yet they gave so great deference to the name of king, and to the memory of his ancestors, that he was buried amongst his royal predecessors.

EVENUS, the Twelfth King.

After his death, in a public assembly of the nobles, there was a very great contest; some alleging, that, according to their oath made to king Fergus, the ancient custom was to be observed; others fearing, that if they made any one of the kindred of Durstus king, either the similitude of manners would incline him to the same wickedness, or else the propinquity of blood would make him study revenge. At last, Evenus, cousin-german by the father's side to Durstus, being commended for his former life, and for his extreme hatred against the tyrant, whilst he was alive, was sent for from amongst the Picts (whither he had voluntarily banished himself out of hatred to Durstus), and unanimously created king. He is reported to be the first who made his subjects take an oath of allegiance to him, which custom is yet retained by the heads of the clans. Evenus, that he might rectify the manners of his subjects, which were depraved by the former king, did first reduce youth to the ancient parsimony in diet, apparel, and in their daily conversation. For by that means he judged, they would be more valiant in war, and less seditious in peace. He diligently visited all the parts of his kingdom, administering justice with great moderation, and pu-

nishing offenders according to their demerits. He assisted the king of the Picts with aid against the Britons, betwixt whom there was fought a long and cruel battle till night parted them; the victory being so uncertain, that both armies departed with equal slaughter and with equal fear. The Britons went home, the Scots and Picts retired into the next adjacent mountains; but the day after, from the high grounds, perceiving the departure or flight of their enemies, they came and gathered up the spoils, as if they had been conquerors, and so returned home with their army. Evenus having repelled his enemies, again betook himself to the arts of peace, and that kings might not have the trouble to travel over the countries so often for the administering justice (which was then their custom to do), he divided the kingdom into circuits, and settled ordinary judges to do that work. He also appointed informers to bring in accusations against the guilty. Which office being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by a law, or else grew obsolete by custom. He died in the 19th year of his reign, leaving a baseborn son, called Gillus, a crafty man, and desirous of the kingdom.

GILLUS, the Thirteenth King.

There were yet living of the blood-royal, legitimate twins, Dochamus and Dorgallus, sons of Durstus. Though their age was not the cause of the difference, yet there arose a deadly feud between them concerning the kingdom; which was also farther increased by the fraud of Gillus. The matter being referred to the arbitration of their kindred, such was the obstinacy of the factions, that nothing could be determined. Gillus, who advised each of them to kill one another, when his secret counsel took no effect, gathered together the chief of the nobles and his kindred, on pretence to end the con-

troversy, into one place, where he suborned men, fit for his purpose, to raise a tumult, and to destroy them both. And then, as if he himself had been assaulted by treachery, he implored the aid of all that were present, and fled to Evonium, a place fortified by king Evenus. Having garrisoned that fort with part of the nobility, and other persons, conscious of his crime, out of an high place in the castle he made a long oration to the people, who in great multitudes were gathered about him, concerning the rashness and obstinacy of the two brothers; he declaimed also against those assassins who killed them; but at last he told them, that he was left by Evenus the guardian of the kingdom, as well as of his domestic affairs, till a new king could be chosen. When the people heard this, though they believed it to be false, yet when they saw him fortified in a strong garrison, for fear of a greater mischief, they instantly swore fealty to him, and declared him king. He, though he had strengthened himself in the kingdom by the consent of the people (obtained as you have heard), yet, not thinking himself safe from the posterity of Durstus, as long as any of them were alive, resolved to destroy his nephews.

There remained alive of them Lismorus, Gormachus, and Ederus, the sons of Dochamus, son of Durstus; they were educated in the Isle of Man. Thither Gillus went, on pretence of bringing them home; and to the two elder he behaved with great reverence and respect, and carried them with him into Albium, cunningly pretending, that they being of a royal stock, should be educated in his court, suitable to their princely quality. As for Ederus, the younger, he left soldiers, on pretence of a guard to attend his person, to whom he gave command, on a certain appointed day, to kill him. But the disposition of Gillus being well known to all, the nurse, suspecting treachery to be hatching

against the child, conveyed him secretly by night into the country of Argyle, and so she eluded Gillus, who sought in vain to find him out to destroy him; for she bred him up for some years privately in a cave under ground; whereupon Gillus, in a fury, put the two elder brothers of Ederus, and also their guard, to death; but it being publicly reported, that Ederus was conveyed into Ireland, he made no farther inquiry after him. And yet his cruelty rested not here, though he had slain the nephews of Durstus; for not judging himself sufficiently secure, as long as any one of the royal progeny was left alive, he caused all those who bore an alliance or friendship to them to be also put to death. The nobles, who were grieved at the present state of affairs, which was bad at present, and fearing that it would be worse, entered into a combination against him, and carried the matter with so much secrecy, that a war was begun against Gillus, before he had notice that any preparations were making towards it. But in levying an army against his opposers, he soon perceived how inconstant the fealty of man is toward wicked and flagitious princes. For there were very few that came in to him at his summons; and those that did were debauchees, such as were afraid of peace in regard of the wickedness of their former lives; and, therefore, distrusting his forces, he left his army, and in a fisher-boat was carried over into Ireland. In the mean time the Scots, that they might not be without a legal government, made Cadvallus, chief of those who combined against Gillus, their viceroy; to whom, upon a treaty, the forces of his enemies submitted, and were, upon their submission, received into his protection. When Cadvallus understood that Gillus was about to renew the war, and, in order to it, was raising as many debauched persons as he could, he resolved to prevent him before he could gather an army, and so to

pursue him wheresoever he fled. First, he sailed into the Æbudæ, or Hebrides; there he caused Ederus, the only branch of the family of Durstus yet alive, to be brought to him, and gave orders for his liberal and royal education. When Gillus heard of his march, he retired again into Ireland; there he engaged the clans of that nation with great promises of reward, to endeavour his restoration to his kingdom; which if they could effect, then he would give them the Æbudæ islands for their reward. By these promises he gathered together a great army. Cadvallus having prepared all things for his transportation, was suddenly called back, to clear himself from a false suspicion of affecting, or aspiring to the kingly government.

EVENUS II. *the Fourteenth King.*

This being the case, the first thing he did, was to take care that Evenus, an eminent person, the son of Dovallus, brother to King Finnanus, might, by the suffrages of the people, be created king; who, having accepted the government, caused all places which were commodious for his enemies, and especially the maritime ones, to be filled with strong garrisons, that so his enemies might not make a sudden descent into his kingdom, without opposition. Gillus, hearing of this, did also alter his resolution, and sailed to the isle of Isla, and there, having wasted the country far and near with fire and sword, he returned back into Ireland. Evenus sends a great army thither, under the command of Cadvallus, that so he might exhaust the spring-head of the war. Neither did Gillus refuse to fight him; but being deserted by his men, who followed him for booty, rather than for love, he changed his apparel, and, with a small company, fled into a neighbouring wood;—the rest of the army being thus deserted by their general, and their fellow-soldiers too, yielded to

Cadvallus. After the battle was ended, they fought a long time for Gillus, and at last found him in a blind cave, where he was slain, the third year after he began his reign, and his head was brought to Cadvallus. Matters being thus happily settled in Ireland by Cadvallus, as he was returning home, he met not with the same felicity; for being tossed up and down in a grievous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his army, and all the prey they had gotten; which struck into him such a damp, that not long after he died of grief: the king, indeed, comforted him, (but all in vain), and, praising his valour and success in the war, he cast all his miseries upon the crossness of fortune. The new king, lifted up with this success, renewed a peace with the Picts; and, in confirmation of it, he took to wife the daughter of Getus, the third king of the Picts. But the sudden arrival and landing of the Orkney-men in Albium, quickly disturbed this public joy. However, the king falling suddenly upon them, drove them out of the field to the mountains, and from thence to the sea; and there being in a fright and hurry, whilst they crowded and hindered one another in endeavouring to ship themselves off again, they were all slain to a man. Belus, their king, despairing to obtain quarter, slew himself. Evenus, having finished the war, returns to the work of peace, and constitutes two mart-towns for trade in convenient places, *i. e.* Inverlochy and Inverness, each of them receiving their name from rivers, gliding by them. For Enner, amongst the ancient Scots, signifies a place where ships may come to land. He subdued the inhabitants of the *Æbudæ*, who, by reason of their long wars, were grown very licentious and quarrelsome. He reconciled their animosities, and appeased their disturbances, and soon after died, having reigned seventeen years.

EDERUS, the Fifteenth King.

Ederus, the son of Dochamus, was made king in his place; who, whilst he was reaping the sweet fruits of peace, established both at home and abroad, and giving himself to the sport of hunting, (according to the ancient custom of the nation), had news suddenly brought him, that one Bredius, an islander, of kin to the tyrant Gillus, was landed with a great navy of soldiers, and plundering the country; he presently gathered together a powerful army against him, and marching as silently as he could in the night, he passed by the camp of his enemies, and set upon their ships in the road, which, by this sudden surprise, he easily mastered, and, killing the guard, he burnt the navy. In the morning, he led his army against the camp, which he easily took, finding the soldiers negligent, and in no order at all; many were slain on the spot, whilst they delayed either to fight or fly; the rest, having their flight by sea prevented, by the burning of their ships, were then taken and hanged. The booty was restored to the owners, that could make their proper claims. A few years after, another of the kindred of Gillus, and out of the same island too, raised the like commotion, which had the same event and success; for his army was overthrown, his fleet burnt, the booty recovered back, and restored to the right owners. Thus having settled a firm peace, being very old, he fell sick, and died in the 48th year of his reign.

EVENUS III. the Sixteenth King.

Evenus III. succeeded him, a son unworthy of so good a father; for not being contented with an hundred concubines of the noblest families, he published his impurities and his shame to the world by established laws. For he enacted, that every man

might marry as many wives as he was able to maintain; and also, that before the marriage of noble virgins, the king should have one night's lodging with them; and the nobles the like, before the marriage of the plebeians: that the wives of the plebeians should be common to the nobility. Luxury, cruelty, and covetousness did (as they ordinarily do) attend and follow this his flagitious wickedness. For his incomes and revenues not answering his expence, upon pretended causes, the wealthier sort were put to death; and the king going shares with the robbers, by that means thieves were never punished. And thus the favour, which his permitting promiscuous lusts had obtained him from the corrupted youth, was again lost by his cruelty and rapaciousness. For, a conspiracy of the nobles being formed against him, he soon perceived, that the friendship and seeming union of wicked men was not to be relied upon. For, as soon as they came to fight, he was deserted by his soldiers, and fell alive into his enemies hands, by whom he was thrown into the common gaol. Cadallanus, who succeeded him as regent, demanding sentence to be pronounced against him, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But there, one of his enemies, either out of some old grudge for injuries received from him, or else hoping for favour, or at least impunity, for the murder of the king, strangled him by night in the prison, when he had reigned seven years. However the murderer came to be hanged for his wicked pains.

METELLANUS, the Seventeenth King.

Metellanus, kinsman to Ederus, succeeded him in the throne; a prince no less dear to all for his excellent virtues, than Evenus was hated by them for his abominable vices. He was mightily prized and esteemed for this, that during his reign there was

peace both at home and abroad. But it was some alloy to his happiness, that he could not abrogate the filthy laws of Evenus, being hindered by his nobility, who were too much addicted to luxury. His demise was in the thirtieth year of his reign.

CARATACUS, the Eighteenth King.

Metellanus dying without issue, the kingdom was conferred on Caratacus, son of Cadallanus, a young man of the royal blood. Soon after his accession to the throne, he quieted the people of the Æbudæ islands, who had raised commotions upon the death of their last king, but not without great trouble. Yet here I cannot easily believe what our writers, following Orosius, Eutropius, and Bede, do say, viz. That the Orcades were subdued by Claudius Cæsar, in his reign. Not that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt a few islands, one by one, that lay scattered up and down in the stormy sea, and having but a few, and those, too, unarmed, inhabitants to defend them, and seeing they could not mutually help one another, to take them all in; nor that I think it incredible, that a navy might be sent by Claudius on that expedition, he being a man (as Orosius affirms) that sought for war and victory all the world over: but because Tacitus affirms, that, before the coming of Julius Agricola into Britain, that part of it was utterly unknown to the Romans. Caratacus reigned twenty years.

CORBREDUS, the Nineteenth King.

Corbredus, his brother, succeeded him. He also subdued the islanders in many expeditions, a people that, almost in every interregnum, affected innovation, and excited new tumults. He also quite suppressed the banditti, which most infested the commonalty. Having settled peace, he returned to Albium, and making his progress over all Scotland, he repaired the places injured by war, and departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign.

DARDANUS, *the Twentieth King.*

The convention of estates set up Dardanus, the nephew of Metellanus, in his stead, passing by the son of Corbredus, because of his young and tender years. No man before him ever came to the crown, of whom greater expectations were conceived, and no man did ever more egregiously deceive the people's hopes. Before he undertook the chief magistracy, he gave great proof of his liberality, temperance and fortitude: so that in the beginning of his reign he was an indifferent good, and a tolerable king; but he had scarce sat three years on the throne, before he ran headlong into all sorts of wickedness. He banished those who had been the sober and prudent counsellors of his father, because they were against his lewd practices. Only flatterers, and such as could invent new pleasures, were his bosom-friends. He caused Cardorus, his own kinsman, to be put to death, because he reproved him for his extravagance in lawless pleasures; and yet he had been lord chief-justice, and chancellor too, under the former king. And a while after, many other persons, as they did excel in virtue, or in wealth, were circumvented by him, by one wile or other, and so unjustly brought to their ends. At last, to free himself from the fears of a successor, he took a resolution to destroy Corbredus Galdus, his kinsman, with his brothers, who were royally educated with a view to the kingdom. The charge of this assassination was committed to Cormoracus, one of his intimate friends. He being prevailed with by many gifts, but more promises, was sent to perpetrate the villany; but attempting it with less caution than such a butchery required, he was taken in the very fact, by some of Galdus's train, with a naked faulchion in his hand; being arraigned and put to the torture, he confessed the author, and the designed order of the conspiracy, and so was executed immediately. When this wicked plot was di-

vulged abroad, there was a general combination of almost all sorts of people against the king : inso-much that having slain many of those who were panders to his lust, as fast as they could be met with, they endeavoured at last to make their way to the king himself, the source and fountain of all mischief. In the mean time, Conanus, one of the king's parasites, a man meanly descended, but highly respected and entrusted by his master, levied some troops, and had the confidence to send them forth against the nobles ; but being deserted by them, he was taken and hanged. The commons, having now got Galdus for their general, found out Dardanus, who was looking out for a lurking-place to secure himself. While they were apprehending of him, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself ; but being prevented, he was brought to Galdus, and immediately put to death. His head was carried up and down in mockery, and his body thrown into a jakes, after he had reigned four years.

CORBRED II. the Twenty-first King.

Corbred II. surnamed Galdus, succeeded him ; a prince equally dear to lords and commons, as well upon the account and early proof of his own personal virtue and promising ingenuity, as for the memory of his worthy father. Some imagine, that he was that Galgacus who is mentioned by Tacitus, and that he was surnamed Galdus by the Scots, because he had been educated amongst the Britons. For the Scots, according to their ancient custom, call all strangers Galds, or Galls ; as the Germans call them Wals, as I shewed more at large above. After he had taken the government upon him, he increased the great hopes which had been preconceived of him : For, making an expedition into the islands of Sky and Lewis, he quelled the seditions which had been lately raised there, and suffered to come to an head, by the negligence of Dardanus ;

and quelled them too like a good prince, with a due and prudent mixture of mercy and severity. He slew the captains of those banditti, and forced the rest, for fear of punishment, either to be their own banishers, and fly, or else to return to their former rural employments. He, as I believe, was the first of the Scottish kings that ever advanced his ensigns against the Romans, who had, by little and little, propagated their empire even to his very borders. For Petilius Cerealis first broke the forces of the Brigantes, and his successor Julius Frontinus conquered the Silures. It is very probable, that the Scots and Picts sent aid to those nations who were situated not far from their borders. Julius Agricola succeeded the former generals, who having overcome the Ordovices, and reduced the island Man, when he was come to the narrowest part of Britain, thinking that it was not far to the end of the island, he was encouraged to the conquest of it all. And, therefore, in the third year of his generalship, he overcame and plundered the neighbouring countries of the Scots and Picts, until he came to the river Tay; and though his army was much distressed by the rigour of the season, yet he had time to build forts in all places convenient for defence; by which means he defeated the designs of his enemies, and withal broke their force. For till that time the adverse party, being men inured to hardship, would, though they lost ground every summer, very frequently recover it back again in winter, when the Roman legions were dispersed into winter-quarters: and sometimes they would assault and take their enemies castles and garrisons, being not sufficiently fortified. But at that time, by the skill of Agrippa in building his forts, and by his diligence in making them defensible; and withal, by relieving them with his forces every year, their attempts were defeat. In the fourth year of his government, perceiving that

the friths of Forth and of Clyde were only divided by a small tract of land, having fortified that place with garrisons, he spoiled the countries that ran towards the Irish sea. In his fifth year, he sent a fleet to sea, and made descents in many places, and plundered the maritime coasts, fortifying those that looked towards Ireland with garrisons, not only for that present occasion, but also that he might from thence more easily transport an army to that country. By this prudence of Agricola, the Scots and Picts being shut up in a narrow corner, and secluded from any commerce with the Britons, prepared themselves for the last great shock, the decisive blow; neither was Agricola less careful, but commanding his navy to fetch a compass about, to discover the utmost parts of the island, he led his army beyond the Forth, and drew towards the Caledonians. There the enemies being ready (as in a desperate case) to run their last hazard, assaulted some of the Roman garrisons; which struck such a terror into them, that some of the Romans, as fearing either the number of their enemies, or their obstinacy, by reason of the last degree of desperation to which they were driven, were of opinion, that it would be best for them to retreat with their army into a place of greater safety. But their general, being resolved to fight, when he was informed that the enemy approached him in three distinct brigades, he drew towards them, having divided his army into three squadrons also, which project almost proved his utter ruin. For his enemies understanding his design, did with their whole army assault one of his legions by night, and having killed the centinels, went nigh to have taken his whole camp: but being prevented by the coming in of the other legions, after they had fought desperately till day-light, they were at length put to flight, and retreated into the mountains and woods. These actions happened about the eighth

year of his expeditions. Both parties prepared themselves, as for the finishing stroke, against the ensuing spring : The Romans judging, that the victory would put an end to the war ; and their enemies looking upon their all to be at stake ; and that they were to fight for their liberty, lives, and for whatsoever is to be accounted dear and sacred amongst men : hereupon judging, that in former battles they were overcome by stratagem rather than by valour, they betook themselves to the higher grounds ; and, at the foot of Mount Grampius, waited the approach of the Romans. There a bloody fight was begun betwixt them ; the victory was a great while wavering and uncertain ; at last, all the valiant men of the Caledonians being slain, the rest having their courage cooled, were forced to retreat to their fastnesses. After this battle, there was no doubt at all, but that Agricola would have subdued all Britain, by the force of his conquering arms, if he had not been called home by Domitian ; not for the honour of his victories, as was pretended, but for his destruction and death. After his departure, sedition grew to a great head in the Roman camp ; and the Scots and Picts, very glad of the occasion, and pretty much encouraged by it, began to creep out of the places where they lay lurking before ; and perceiving that the Romans had not a general, not the same camp discipline as before, they sent envoys up and down, to try the inclination, not only of their own countrymen, but likewise of the Britons. Thus, in the first place, being emboldened by having success in some small skirmishes, they began more and more to take heart, and to assault garrisons : and at last, with a formed army, they resolved to venture the hazard of a pitched battle. By this means the Romans were expelled out of their territories, and were forced, with doubtful success, to contend with the Britons for their ancient province. Galdus having obtained a

respite from arms, made his progress all over the several countries of the land, and resettled the old owners in their habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the war. As for the places which were wholly unpeopled, he sent his soldiers to inhabit them. And having restrained the frequent robberies which were wont to be committed, he composed the differences which began to arise betwixt him and the Picts. At length, in great glory and esteem, both with friends and foes, he deceased, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

LUCTACUS, the Twenty-second King.

So good a father was succeeded by Luctacus, as bad a son; who, despising the counsel of his nobles, gave himself wholly up to wine and women. No nearness of alliance, no reverence of the laws, no respect of nobility, or of conjugal relation, could restrain him from committing the vilest lewdness with the fair unhappy creatures he had a mind to. Add to this, that he was inhumanly cruel, and also insatiably covetous. All the young fry, who are evermore inclinable to the worse, too soon and too easily degenerated into the manners of their king. So that, at last, when he had defiled all with whoredoms, rapines, and slaughter, and no one man durst oppose his exorbitant power; an assembly of the States being called together, and speaking freely concerning the state of the kingdom, he commanded the nobles, as seditious persons, to be led out to execution; but, by the concourse of the intervening multitude, both he, and also the loathed ministers of his lust and lewdness, were slain, when he had scarce finished the third year of his reign. Out of honour to his father, his body was allowed to be interred amongst the sepulchres of his ancestors; but the bodies of his associates were thrown up and down, and had not the privilege of common burial.

MOGALDUS, the Twenty-third King.

After him, Mogaldus was elected king, grandson to Galdus, and nephew to Lactacus by the mother's side. In the beginning of his reign he equalled the best of kings; but, growing older, he was tainted with vices, and easily degenerated into the manners of his uncle. When he first entered on the government, that he might, with the greater ease, reform the vicious practices of the former king, which had even corrupted the public manners, he made peace with his neighbours; he restored the ancient ceremonies in religion, which had been carelessly neglected; He banished all pimps, and all the instruments of lust and debauchery from Court, and did every thing by the advice of the estates, according to the ancient custom; by which deportment he procured to himself love at home, and reverence abroad. Having settled matters at home, he turned his mind to warlike affairs, and drove out the Romans from the borders of his kingdom; and, by his auxiliaries, assisted the Picts against the injuries of the Romans: Nay, and in some prosperous battles, he so weakened the Roman power amongst the Britons, that they also were put in some hopes of recovering their liberty; and to compass so good an end, took up arms in many places. These hopes of theirs increased, because the Emperor Adrian had recalled Julius Severus, a fierce and skilful warrior, out of Britain into Syria, to quell the seditions of the Jews; and the tumults more and more increasing, it came to that pass at last, that Adrian himself was forced to go over from Gallia into Britain: But he, being a greater lover of peace than war, desired rather to maintain the bounds of his empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to York, and found the country beyond it to be harassed by the war, he resolv-

ed to take a particular view of the devastation, and so marched his army to the river Tyne ; where, being informed by the old soldiers who had followed Agricola, almost to the utmost bounds of Britain, that there would be more pains than profit in conquering the rest of the island, he built a wall and trench for the space of eighty miles, between the friths of the rivers Tyne and Esk ; and so excluded the Scots and Picts from their provincials ; and having settled the state of the province, he returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but take notice, that, since there yet remain several marks of this wall in many places, it is a wonder to me, that Bede should wholly omit to mention it ; especially since *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the life of *Adrian* ; and also *Herodian*, in the life of *Severus*. I cannot persuade myself, that Bede could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, that that wall was not made by *Adrian*, but by *Severus*. This by the bye.

Hereupon the Roman province was quieted, the excursions of their neighbours were prevented, and peace was kept up between them, for a great while. The Britons easily embraced it, and the Scots and Picts had got an opportunity by it to divide the neighbouring lands, as a prey, amongst themselves. But that peace, besides the prejudice it did to the body, by weakening its vigour, through sloth and idleness, did also enervate the mind, by the baits of pleasure, which then began to tickle it. For by that means *Mogaldus*, till then unconquered in war, forgetting the glory of his ancestors, ran headlong into all kinds of vice ; and, besides other pernicious and foul miscarriages, prejudicial to the public, he made a most unjust law, “ That the estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children.” This law is yet observed and pleaded for by the officers of the

king's revenue, who are willing to gratify his lust, though they then did, and yet do know, that it is an unjust and inhuman institution. Mogaldus having thus made himself obnoxious and hateful to the nobles and commons, being unable to resist their combinations, with one or two of his companions, he sought to run and hide himself from their fury; but before he could execute his project, he was taken, and put to death, after he had reigned thirty-six years. This was done about the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

CONARUS, the Twenty-fourth King.

Conarus his son succeeded him, who, beginning very ill, concluded his wicked reign as unhappily as he began it. For he was not only conscious and privy to, but also a partner in the conspiracy against his father. However, to cover his faults, in the beginning of his reign, there happened to break out a war very opportunely for him: for the Britons, having passed Adrian's wall, took away great store of men and cattle. Upon that Conarus, by the advice of his council, joining his army with the Picts, passed over Adrian's wall in many places, and made great havock in the Britons' country; and at last, encountering their enemy, a great and bloody battle was fought betwixt them, the Romans and Britons. The slaughter was almost equal on both sides, which occasioned peace betwixt them till the next year: yet the Romans, because they were not conquerors, looked upon themselves as in a manner conquered. Their own forces being much lessened, and Adrian putting no great confidence in the Britons, who, as he found, conceived some hopes of liberty from his misfortunes, he sent to Antoninus Pius for aid; laying the blame of the violation of the peace upon the Scots and Picts, and of the loss and slaughter of his men, upon the

Britons. Lollius Urbicus was sent over lieutenant-general by the Emperor, who overcame his enemy in a bloody battle, and drove them beyond the wall of Adrian, which he again repaired. Afterwards there was a cessation of arms for many years, as if a silent truce had been made: for the Romans thought it enough to keep the enemy from ravaging and plundering, and for that end their camp was pitched on the borders: and Conarus, who loved nothing in war, but the licentiousness that was the consequence of it, made haste to return home, that he might employ that vacancy wholly to immerge himself in pleasures: and now those vices, which he had before concealed, on design to gain the love of others, began to appear barefaced. And when, by his art of dissimulation, he judged the kingdom sure to him; he was just as profuse in spending immense treasures on his own lusts and pleasures, as his ancestors had been diligent and industrious in procuring them; insomuch, that in a very short time, he was reduced to great want. At length, convening an assembly of the estates, he made a long and plausible oration of the grandeur and magnificence which was necessary for kings, and complained of the lowness of his exchequer; thus covering his vices under the specious name of gallantry and magnificence: he became also an earnest suitor, that a valuation of every man's estate should be made, and a proportionable tax imposed on each individual. This speech was unacceptable to all that heard it, whose answer was, that the matter was of more moment than to be determined on a sudden: upon this account the estates, having obtained a short time for consultation, upon asking every particular man's opinion, soon found, that this new device of demanding such a vast sum of money, did not proceed from the nobles, but from some court-parasites; and accordingly they voted, that the king should

be kept prisoner, as unfit to reign ; until, upon his abjuration of the government, they substituted another. When they met the next day, he who was first demanded to give his vote, made a sharp speech and invective against the former part of the king's life, saying, that bawds, parasites, minstrels, and troops of harlots, were not fit instruments for kings and kingdoms, as being useless in war, and troublesome in peace ; besides, they were costly and full of infamy and disgrace. He added, the complaint was false, that the king's revenue and income was not sufficient for his expence ; since it had sufficed a great many of their former kings, to make them formidable to their enemies in war, and to live nobly and splendidly upon it in time of peace. But if any be of opinion, that the public revenue is too short, then, said he, let a supplement be made, not out of the subject's purse, but out of the prince's own domestic patrimony. He farther added, that the measure of expence was not to be taken from the lust and exorbitant desires of men, which were infinite, but from the ability of the people, and the real necessities of nature ; and therefore, it was his opinion, that those villains, upon whom the public patrimony was conferred, and for whose sake the king had undone so many worthy persons of good rank and quality, by despoiling them of their estates, and putting them to death, should be compelled, by law, and torture too, to refund that to the lawful owners, which they had unjustly got as the reward of their flattery. In the mean time, he advised, that the king should be kept a prisoner, till they could substitute another, that would not only inure himself to thrift, but also teach others, by his example, to live hardly and parsimoniously, as his forefathers had done ; that so the strict discipline, received from their ancestors, might be transmitted to posterity.

This speech, as it was sharp enough of itself, so it seemed more cutting to those who had velvet ears, and were unaccustomed to hear such free and bold discourses. Neither did the king endeavour to allay the hearts of his people by fair and gentle words, but rather, by fierce and menacing expressions, did the more vehemently inflame and provoke them ; so that, amidst these disputes and bickerings, a tumult arising, some that were next the king laid hands on him, and conveyed him, with some few others, into a cave under ground, where they imprisoned them. Those courtiers who had been the authors of such wicked counsels, were presently put to death ; and lest any tumult of the mobile should arise upon this dissolution of the bonds of government, one Argadus, a nobleman, was made viceroy, till the people could conveniently meet, to set up a new king. Argadus, though in the beginning of his administration he settled all things with great equity, and thereby procured much commendation by his moderate deportment ; yet his mind being corrupted by prosperity, he soon lost all the credit of his former praise-worthy life. For he cherished home-bred seditions, and strengthened his authority by foreign aids, having such great familiarity with the chief of the Picts, that he took a wife from amongst them, and gave his daughters to them in marriage ; by which practice it soon appeared, that he aspired to the crown. These things being laid to his charge in a public assembly, wherein he was much blamed for his so sudden degeneracy and apostacy, he was altogether ashamed, and knowing them to be true, he burst out into tears ; and as soon as his weeping gave him liberty to speak, being unable to purge himself from the objected crimes, he craved mercy, and humbly deprecated the punishment of his offences ; which, said he, “ if I can obtain, I will recompense and make amends for my errors in government, by my future care, industry, and valour.” These things

he humbly supplicated upon his knees, so that the anger of the nobles being now turned into pity, they lifted him up from the ground, and ordered him to continue in the government, remitting his own punishment to himself. As for them, they were well enough satisfied, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had done amiss heretofore. From that day forward Argadus assembled the wisest men of the whole kingdom about him, and acted nothing but by their advice; nay, during the remainder of his magistracy, he enacted many laws for the good of the public; of which this was the chief;—that he restrained the arbitrariness of provincial judges, and forbade them to give sentence against all offenders alike; but to have respect to alleviating circumstances, where any such were. He either restrained, or put to death, flagitious persons, and amended the public manners, which had been corrupted by a long course of licentiousness, not only by inflicting legal punishments on transgressors of the laws, but by affording them the leading example of his own regular life. Whilst these things were acting, Conarus, partly afflicted with grief, and partly worn out by diseases, ended his loathsome and ignominious life in prison, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

ETHODIUS, the Twenty-fifth King.

Ethodius was set up in his stead, Mogaldus's sister's son. He immediately convened the estates, and thereupon highly extolled Argadus; and after he had bestowed on him great honours and large rewards, he made him plenipotentiary under him, for the administration of the government. When he had made his progress to view all the countries and parts of his dominions, according to custom, he sailed over to the Æbudæ islands. Argadus was sent by him to quell the disturbers of the public

peace ; who soon suppressed them, and brought them prisoners to the king. These combustions thus appeased, he returned into Albium : but the islanders being freed by his absence from their present fear ; and farther, being persuaded by false reports spread abroad, that he was engaged in a foreign war ; and besides, being provoked, rather than suppressed, by the punishment of their associates, began to raise new tumults. Argadus was again sent to suppress them ; but they, being assisted both by the Picts and Irish, gave him battle, without any delay, in which fight, Argadus himself, (being circumvented by treachery, was slain. That blow made the king lay aside all other business, and to march thither himself ; where he so wasted them, with some light occasional skirmishes, and by his frequent alarms and inroads upon them, that, being inferior to him in force, they retired into a valley, encompassed on all sides with craggy rocks, having only one passage leading to it, that so the conveniency of the place, as they thought, might somewhat contribute to their safety. Ethodius, perceiving the disadvantage of the place for his enemy, disposed of his guards in fit avenues ; and also made a wall and a graft at the mouth of the passage ; by which means they were brought to that extreme scarcity of all things, that they were forced to yield up themselves to the king at discretion. They were willing to accept of any conditions ; but the king gave them only these, that two hundred of them, such as the king should call out, with their general, should be surrendered up to him ; the rest should every man return to his own home. The punishment of those who were thus given up, being presently inflicted on them, had almost raised up a new sedition ; for the common soldiers were so enraged at such a terrible spectacle, that, for want of arms, they threw stones at the king's officers ; neither was their tumultuous fury allayed without much bloodshed. Thus Ethodius, having

settled peace every where, in order to the administration of justice, made his progress over all his kingdom, much delighting himself in hunting by the way ; so that he made many hunting-laws, of which a great part are observed to this very day. He had an Irish musician or harper, lying all night in his bed chamber, according to the custom of the Scottish nobility, by whom he was slain in the night, in revenge of a kinsman of his, whom, he said, the king had put to death. This fellow, when he was led forth to execution, was so unconcerned at his torture, that he seemed to be very glad, as if he had done but his duty, and acted his part with applause.

SATRAEL, the Twenty-sixth King.

Ethodius being thus slain, when he had reigned three-and-thirty years, and his son being not of age fit to govern, his brother Satrael was elected king. This man being of a depraved, yet cunning disposition, endeavoured to establish the kingdom in his own family, and so to destroy the sons of Ethodius ; in order whereunto, those nobles who were most dear to Ethodius, were, by calumnies purposely devised, suppressed and slain by him. Afterwards, because the commons very much regretted the slaughter of their nobles, he began to oppress them also ; which matter, in a little time, so increased the hatred conceived against him, and so diminished his authority, that tumults and seditions were its immediate consequences. He durst not appear to suppress them, because he knew he lay under a public odium ; so that while he was playing at hide and seek at home, he was put to death by his own men, in the night, when he had reigned four years.

DONALDUS I. *the Twenty-Seventh King.*

Donaldus, another brother of Ethodius, was set up in his room, who equalled, nay, exceeded the vices of Satrael, by as great, and as many contrary virtues. This prince's clemency, joined with his love of equity, did very much enhance the price of his other excellencies. He, by the terror and weight of his authority; and also by present punishments inflicted, quelled all intestine commotions; and rightly conceiving, that the soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by luxury, might be made more ready to resist an enemy, he caused a muster to be made of them, and so accustomed them to training and exercising their arms, and military discipline, that, in a short time, the new-listed novices in war equalled the valour of the veterans and old soldiers. The peace which he had abroad did much forward this his design. For the Roman legions, some few years before, made a mutiny in Britain, as desiring any other general rather than Commodus; and especially Ælius Pertinax, who was sent to suppress them; so that leaving the Scots and Picts, they turned the whole stress of the war upon themselves. It was also a farther advantage to him, in order to a peace, that Donaldus had, first of all the Scottish kings, embraced the Christian religion; yet neither he, nor some other of the succeeding kings, though a great part of the nobility favoured the design, could wholly extirpate the old heathenish rites and ceremonies. But the expedition of Severus the Emperor falling out in his time, mightily disturbed all his measures, both public and private. For Severus, being very skilful in military affairs, brought so many forces into Britain, in hopes to conquer the whole island, as never any Roman general had done before himself. There were also other causes for this expedition of his, as, the cor-

rupt lives of his sons, by reason of the vices reigning in Rome, and the effeminacy of his army, occasioned by sloth and lying still. To remedy these mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon action. Upon his arrival, the private tumults, which were about to break forth, were suppressed, and the Scots and Picts, leaving the counties near the enemy, retreated to places of greater safety, and more difficult access. Severus, that he might, once for all, put an end to the British wars, led his army through all the waste places, deserted by their inhabitants, against the Caledonians. Though his enemy did not dare to give him battle in the field, he was much incommoded by the coldness of the country, and underwent a great deal of trouble, to cut down woods, to level hills, and to throw vast heaps of earth into the marsh-grounds, and also to erect bridges over rivers, to make a passage for his army. In the mean time, the enemy, despairing of success, if they should fight so great a multitude in a pitched battle, did here and there leave herds of their cattle, on purpose as a prey to them, that so they might stop the Romans, who, in hopes of such booties, were enticed to stray far from their camp; and indeed the Romans, besides those that being thus dispersed were taken in the ambushes laid for them, were also much prejudiced by continual rains; and being wearied with long marches, and so not able to follow, were in many places slain by their own fellows, that so they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. Yet, notwithstanding, though they had lost fifty thousand of their soldiers, (as Dion writes), they did not desist from their enterprise, till they had penetrated even to the end and extreme bounds of the island. As for Severus himself, though he was sick during this whole expedition, and there-upon was fain to be carried in a covered horse-litter; yet, by his incredible obstinacy and perse-

verance, he made his enemies to accept of conditions of peace, and to yield up to him no small part of their country. He built a wall, as a mound to the Roman empire, between the friths of Forth and Clyde; where Agricola, before him, had also determined to bound their province. That wall, where it toucheth the river Carron, had a garrison on it, so situated, and the ways and passages so laid out, that it was like a small city; which some of our countrymen, though by a mistake, do think to be Maldon; but it is more probable, that this was the city which Bede calls Guidi. A few years before this was written, some footsteps of trenches, walls, and streets appeared; neither yet are all the walls so demolished, but that they discover themselves visibly in many places; and when the earth is a little digged up, square stones are quarried out, which the owners of the neighbouring countries use in building their houses. Nay, sometimes stones with inscriptions on them are found, which shew, that it was a Roman pile of building. Those words of *Ælius Spartianus* demonstrate the noble grandeur of this structure. "He strengthened Britain," says he, "with a wall drawn crosswise over the island; from sea to sea; which is the greatest ornament of the empire." By which words he seems to intimate, that it was not a trench, as Bede would have it, but a wall; especially since he gives such a commendation to a work, which is shorter by half than Adrian's wall. Nay, this fortification, where it is least distant, yet is eighty miles off from the wall of Adrian. There are also other indications of that place, if I mistake not. For, a little below that garrison, of which I have spoken, there is a round edifice on the opposite side of the river Carron, made of square stones, heaped on one another, without lime or mortar. It is no bigger than a small pigeon-house; the top of it is open, but the other parts are whole, save that

the upper lintel of the door, wherein the name of the builder and work is thought to have been inscribed, was taken away by Edward I. king of England; who did also invidiously deface all the rest of the old Scottish monuments, as much as ever he could. Some think, and have written, though erroneously, that that structure was the temple of Claudius Cæsar. But my conjecture is rather, that it was the temple of the Heathen god Terminus. There were also, on the left bank of the same river, two hillocks, or barrows of earth, raised, as it sufficiently appears, by the hands of men in a small plain. A great part of the less, which inclines more to the west, is swept away by the washings and overflowings of the river; the neighbouring inhabitants call them yet *Duni Pacis*. So that peace being again procured by this division of the island, and all matters being in a sort accommodated, Donaldus departed this life, having reigned one and twenty years.

ETHODIUS II. *the Twenty-eighth King.*

Ethodius II. son of the former Ethodius, was substituted in his room, a man almost stupid. This is certain he was of a more languid and soft disposition, than was fit for the government of such a fierce and warlike people; which being taken notice of, the nobles, in a convention, bore that reverence to the progeny of king Fergus, that they left the name of king to Ethodius, as slothful as he was; but yet not guilty of a notorious wickedness: but they set deputies over all the provinces, to administer justice there; whose moderation and equity did so regulate matters, that Scotland was never in a quieter state. For they did not only punish offenders, but also made the immoderate covetousness of the king be no burden to the people. This king, in the

twenty-first year of his reign, was slain in a tumult of his own officers.

ATHIRCO, the Twenty-ninth King.

Athirco, his son, manifesting greater ingenuity than is usually found in such a youthful age, was therefore made king : for, by his manly exercises in riding, throwing the dart, and vying with his young courtiers in feats of arms, as also by his bounty and courteous demeanour, he won to himself the love of all. But his vices increasing with his age, by his profound avarice, peevishness, luxury, and sloth, he so alienated the minds of good men from him, that the more the sons were delighted with his nefarious practices, the more their fathers were offended at them. At last a conspiracy of the nobles was formed against him, occasioned by one Nathalocus, a nobleman, whose daughter, being first deflowered by him, and then ignominiously beaten with rods, he prostituted to those ruffians who were about him. He endeavoured to defend himself against them ; but perceiving he had not force enough so to do, being also forsaken by his domestics, who detested his lewd practices, he laid violent hands on himself, in the twelfth year of his reign. After his death, Dorus, either because he was his brother, or else had been a pander to his lust, fearing least the nobles, in the heat of their provocation, should exercise their rage upon all the king's lineage, saved himself by flight, with his brother's three small children, Findochus, Carantius, and Donaldus. Neither was he mistaken in his opinion ; for Nathalocus, who had received so signal an injury, not contented with Dorus' exile, suborned emissaries to kill him, and his brother's children too ; who, coming to the Picts, (for the royal youths had chosen the place of their banishment among them), and, fighting upon one very

like Dorus in stature and physiognomy, slew him, instead of Dorus himself.

NATHALOCUS, the Thirtieth King.

Nathalocus, thinking that he had slain him who stood most in his way, was the first that canvassed for the kingdom of Scotland. It is true, a great part of the nobility were against him; yet, by means of those whom he had corrupted by promises and bribes, he carried the point, and was made king. Neither did he manage the kingdom any better than he got it. For suspecting the nobility, which, in the parliaments of the kingdom, he had found to be adverse to him, he governed all by the ministry of such plebeians, whom audaciousness and penury, he knew, would easily incline to any wickedness. Besides those suspicions I have mentioned, he was encountered with a far more grievous one; for, intercepting letters directed to some of the chief nobles, he understood by them, that Dorus, and the children of Athirco, were yet alive, and were brought up amongst the Picts, in hopes of the kingdom. To avoid this danger, he sent for those nobles whom he most suspected, to come to him, pretending he had need of their advice in the public affairs of the kingdom. When they were assembled, he shut them all up in prison, and the very next night caused them all to be strangled. But that which he hoped would be a remedy to his fears, was but as a fire-brand to raise up another conspiracy. For the friends of those who were slain being afraid of themselves, as well as grieving for the loss of their relations and kindred, unanimously take up arms against him. Whilst he was raising an army to oppose them, he was slain by one of his own domestics, about the twelfth year of his reign. Some of our countrymen do add a tale in the case, which is more handsomely contrived

than likely to be true; That the very man who slew the king, had been before sent by him to soothsayers, to inquire concerning the king's victories, his life, and kingdom, and that an old wizzard should answer him, "That the king should not live long, but his danger would arise, not from his enemies, but from his domestics:" and when he pressed the woman, "From which of them?" she replied, "Even from thyself, man." Whereupon he cursed the woman; yet returning home in a great quandary, he thought with himself, that the woman's answer could not be concealed; and yet it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the king, who was a depraved person, and guided wholly by his own fears: and therefore it seemed to him the safest course to kill the tyrant with the favour of many, than to preserve him alive with the extreme hazard of his own life. Presently after he returned home, having obtained leave for a private access, to declare the secret answer of the oracle, or conjurer, he slew the king, just then entering upon the twelfth year of his reign; and so freed his country from bondage, and himself from danger.

FINDOCHUS, the Thirty-first King.

When the last king's death was publicly known, the sons of Athirco were recalled home. Findochus, besides his being of the royal family, was also happy in several rich gifts of nature: he was exceedingly beautiful, tall of stature, and in the flower of his age; and having, besides all these accomplishments, the recommendation of having suffered many afflictions very heroically, he was choseu king. Neither did he deceive men's expectations; for in his ordinary deportment he was very courteous; in administering of justice equal and impartial: and a conscientious performer of all his promises. But

Donaldus the islander, being weary of peace, sailed over with a numerous army into Albium; and making havock of the villages where he came, returned home with a great booty. His pretence for the war was, the revenge of the death of king Nathalocus. Findochus speedily listed an army against him, and transporting them into the island, he overthrew Donaldus in battle, and forced him to fly for refuge to his ships; many were slain in the fight, and many were drowned, whilst they endeavoured in a hurry to get on shipboard. Donaldus himself being taken into the boat, endeavouring to escape, the boat sunk, by reason of the multitude of those who overloaded it, and so he was drowned. However, the islanders not disheartened with this overthrow, after the departure of the king, sent for forces out of Ireland, and renewed the war, making Donaldus his son their general, in the room of his father: under whom they again made a descent into the continent, and drove away much booty. Upon this, Findochus again conveyed his forces into the Æbudæ isles, and marching over all the islands, executed severe punishment on the plunderers; and overthrowing the forts into which they were wont to fly, he made such a slaughter of the men, and carried away so much booty, that he left many of the islands almost desolate. Upon Findochus's return, Donaldus, who had fled for safety into Ireland, returned from thence, and endeavouring to recruit his armies, he found his forces so weakened, that he left off the thoughts of managing an open war, and resolved to betake himself to guile and stratagem. And in prosecution of that design, not daring to trust the king, though he had given him the public faith for his security, he sent two of his friends, persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret message, to him. They coming to Findochus, and boasting of their lineage and descent, and withal grievously complaining of the wrongs

they had received from Donaldus, yet could not induce the king to believe them; they, therefore, applied themselves to Carantius his brother, a shallow and ambitious person. Being admitted into an intimate familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the secret affairs of the state and commonwealth; and after feeling his pulse, and finding out his disposition, they had the boldness at last, as to tell him, they were sent over to kill the king. He hearing this, looked upon the kingdom as gotten by other men's wickedness and danger, now sure to himself, and therefore shewed them all the countenance and favour imaginable. Well, all things being prepared for the perpetration of the designed murder; whilst the king was hearing one of them relating the various adventures of his life, and the rest were busy in running to see a wild beast of an extraordinary size, the other thrust him through the breast with a hunting-spear, and so murdered him. Upon the committing of this black crime, this execrable deed, there was a great clamour, and a mighty concourse of people; some take up their dying king; others pursue the murderers, who were luckily taken, and executed according to their impious deserts; yet they were not put to death before they had been racked; and by that means they confessed the design of Donaldus, and the wickedness of Carantius, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the matter. This Carantius first fled to the Britons; but they hearing of the cause of his banishment, detested so execrable a guest; and therefore he went to the Roman camp.

DONALDUS II. *the Thirty-second King.*

The best of men, as well as of kings, being thus slain, by the detestable treachery of his brother, in the eleventh year of his reign, Donaldus, the

youngest of his three brothers, was set up king in his stead. He, whilst he was preparing to revenge his brother's death, had word brought to him, that Donaldus the islander had entered Murray, not now carrying himself as a robber, but as a king. Immediately upon these advices, he, with a few of his soldiers, which were near at hand, (having left a command for the rest to follow), marches directly towards the enemy. Donaldus being informed by his spies, that the king had but a small force with him, continued his march day and night, and by that means, prevented the news of his approach. The king being thus surprised, and seeing that he could not avoid a battle, performed more than could have been expected from such a handful of men, but at length was overcome by his enemy's numbers; and being grievously wounded, with thirty more of the prime of his nobility, was taken prisoner; about three thousand men were slain in the fight, and two thousand taken. The king died within three days; either of his wounds, or of grief for the overthrow, having scarce reigned one year complete.

Donaldus III. the Thirty-third King.

Upon his death, Donaldus the islander, who before, without any authority, had assumed the name of king, now took upon him to manage all things as a legitimate prince; taking his advantage from the fear of the nobles, who (lest their kinsmen, who were prisoners with him, should be slain, which he daily threatened to do) durst not make any insurrections against him. He was a very tyrant in his government, and cruel to all his subjects; for he was not content, by an edict, to forbid any others to bear arms, but his own servants, and officers too; and, what is more, he hurried away several of the nobility to violent deaths, whose destruction he es-

teemed to be the establishment of his government; nay, he proceeded to sow seeds of discord amongst those who survived his barbarity; neither did he think any sight more lovely, than the mutual slaughter of his subjects. For he counted their ruin was his gain, and judged himself to be freed from so many enemies as were slain, out of both armies. Neither was he afraid of any thing more, than the union of his subjects against him. Hereupon he kept himself commonly within the verge of his own palace, and being conscious of the wrong he had done to all, as fearful of them, as he was formidable to them, he seldom went abroad. These miseries continuing twelve years, at length, Crathilinthus, the son of king Findochus, with much ado, was found out, to revenge the public wrongs and calamities: he had been bred up privately with his foster-father, and was thought to have been dead. But having few about him, equal to him in strength or cunning, dissembling his name and his lineage, he first applied himself to court, and being received into near familiarity by the king, through the dexterity of his wit, he became his most intimate and greatest favourite. At last, when all things succeeded according to his desire, he discovered to a few of his confidants who he was, and what he designed; and gathering a small party about him, having got a convenient opportunity, he slew Donaldus, and departed privately with his associates.

CRATHILINTHUS, the Thirty-fourth King.

When the death of the tyrant was divulged, both the fact itself, and the authors of it too, were cried up to the skies with one general acclamation; so that Crathilinthus, upon the discovery and legal proof of his descent, was made king, with more unanimity and applause, than ever any king had been before him, in regard he had been the author, not

only of their liberty, but of their safety too. At the beginning of his reign, by public consent, he caused the children and kindred of the tyrant to be put to death, as if he would extirpate tyranny from the very root. He afterwards made a progress over all his kingdom, to administer justice, as had been usual; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the damages done by Donaldus. Thus, having established peace at home and abroad, he spent his vacant hours in hunting, according to the custom of the country. Being on Mount Grampius, at this royal sport, near the borders of the Picts, he very nobly entertained the gallant Pictish youths that came to visit him; nay, he was not content with that friendship, which had been anciently betwixt them, grounded on old acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual peace, but he took them also into a nearer acquaintance, and a closer familiarity; but that familiarity had like to have proved his ruin. For the Picts having stolen a dog of the Scottish king's, in which he took great delight, and the keeper having discovered the place where he was concealed, was killed as he was going to it, and endeavouring to bring him back; presently, a great outcry was made, and a multitude of both parties were gathered together, between whom there was a sharp combat, and many were slain on both sides; amongst whom there were not a few of the young nobility of each nation; by which means were sown the seeds of a most cruel war betwixt them. For, from that day forward, each nation infested the other with hostile incursions, and never gave over till they met together with complete armies. Neither could peace be made up between them upon any terms, though both kings desired it. For though they were not ignorant, how dangerous it was for them to be at war with one another, the Romans and Britons being their perpetual enemies and assailants; yet they were so maddened by, and so set upon the desire of

revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that account, they neglected the public calamity impending on them both; and truly, unless Carausius, a Roman exile, one of mean descent, but a good soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last man, even till both nations had been destroyed. This Carausius, being sent to the sea-coasts of Bologne by Dioclesian, to defend Belgia Armorica from the incursions of the Franks and Saxons, after he had taken many of the barbarians, yet would neither restore the prey to the provincials, the right owners, nor yet send it to the emperor; this gave an umbrage, that he purposely allowed the barbarians to plunder, that so he might rob them at their return, and enrich himself with the spoil. For this reason, Maximianus commanded him to be slain; but he, taking imperial authority upon him, seized upon Britain; and to strengthen his party against Bassianus, the Roman lieutenant-general, he reconciled the discords betwixt the Scots and Picts, and entered into a firm league and alliance with them both. The Romans made many attempts against him; but, by his skill in military affairs, he defeated all their designs; when he had restored the Scots and Picts into the possession of those lands which they formerly held, he was slain by his companion Allectus, after he had reigned seven years. Allectus, having reigned three years, was slain by Asclepiodotus; and thus Britain was restored to the Romans, in the twelfth year after its revolt. But neither Asclepiodotus, nor the person who succeeded him, one Constantius Chlorus, did any memorable thing in Britain; but that this latter begat Constantine, afterwards emperor, on Helena his concubine. Amidst these transactions, died Crathilinthus, after a reign of twenty-four years.

After his death there was a great contest about the kingdom between three cousin-germans, before

FINCORMACHUS, *the Thirty-fifth King.*

Fincormachus, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who performed many excellent exploits against the Romans, by the aid of the Britons and Picts; nay, he fought some battles with them without any auxiliaries at all. At length, when the Romans were weakened by their civil wars at home, and perpetual molestations abroad, matters being a little quieted, the Scots were also glad to embrace a peace; who, being thus freed from external cares, did principally endeavour to promote the Christian religion; they took this occasion to do it, because many of the British Christians, being afraid of the cruelty of Dioclesian, had fled to them; amongst which sundry, eminent for learning and integrity of life, made their abode in Scotland, where they led a solitary life, with such an universal opinion of their sanctity, that, when they died, their cells were changed into temples or kirks. From hence the custom arose afterwards, amongst the ancient Scots, to call temples cells. This sort of monks were called Culdees, whose name and order continued, till a latter sort of monks, divided into many sects, expelled them; yet these last were as far inferior to the former in learning and piety, as they exceeded them in wealth, in ceremonies, and in pomp of outward worship; by all which they pleased the eye, but infatuated the mind.

Fincormachus, having settled affairs in Scotland with great equity, and reduced his subjects to a more civil kind of life, left the world in the 47th year of his reign.

ROMACHUS, *the Thirty-sixth King.*

After his death there was a great contest about the kingdom between three cousin-germans, begot

by the three brothers of Crathilinthus, whose names were Romachus, Fethelmachus, and Angusianus, or ra her Æneanus. Romachus's plea was, that his father was the eldest of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, and that his mother was descended from the blood-royal of the Picts; as also, that he himself was of a stirring and active disposition, and likely to procure friends and allies.

That which made for Angusianus was his age and experience in the world, as also his admirable deportment, to which was added the favour of the people; and that which was the principal of all, Fethelmachus, who was before his competitor, now voted for him. By reason of this sedition, the matter being like to be decided by arms, nothing could be concluded in the first convention of the estates, and when that was dissolved, the whole kingdom was divided into two factions; and Romachus, who was least in the favour of the people, called in the Picts militia for his assistance, that so he might strengthen himself by foreign aids.

Angusianus being informed that ambushes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the shock of a battle, than to live in perpetual solicitude and fear; for that end, gathering his party into a body, he fought with Romachus; but being overcome by him, he and Fethelmachus fled together into the Æbudæ islands.

But perceiving that he could not be safe there, because his prowess rendered him formidable to the heads of the factions, and that he was also amongst a people naturally mercenary and venal, and corrupted by the promises of Romachus, he fled into Ireland with his friends. Romachus having thus removed his rival, and obtained the kingdom, rather by force than the good-will of the people, exercised his power with a tyrannical sway over his enemies; and to put a colour of law on the matter, when he went about the country to keep assizes, he asked no

counsel of others, as was usual, but took all capital causes into his own cognizance; so that he made great execution amongst the people, and struck a panic fear into the hearts of all good men. At length, when every soul was wearied with the present state of affairs, the nobility made a sudden combination against him; and, before he could gather his forces together, he was taken in his flight to the Picts, and put to death in the third year of his reign. His head was carried up and down, fastened to the top of a pole, and the people counted it a joyful spectacle.

ANGUSIANUS, the Thirty-seventh King.

This done, Angusianus was recalled, by general consent, to rule the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, they which were the ministers of cruelty and covetousness under Romachus, being afraid to live under so good a king, stirred up Nectamus, king of the Picts, to make war upon him, in revenge of his kinsman. Angusianus, being a lover of peace, sent ambassadors to them very often, to advise them, that both nations would be much prejudiced by those divisions, in regard the Britons did but watch an opportunity to destroy them both. But they hearkened not, either out of confidence of their strength, or out of anger and vexation of spirit. So that, perceiving them to be averse from peace, he led forth his army against them; and, after a very sharp conflict, obtained the victory. The king of the Picts made his escape, with a few in his company; and, after he had a little mastered his fear, being inflamed with rage and fury, he obtained of his subjects, but with great difficulty, to raise him a new army: and when it was levied, he marched into Caledonia. Angusianus once more propounded terms of peace; but no ear being given to them, he drew his forces towards the enemy. The fight was maintained with

equal obstinacy on both sides; one striving to retain their acquired glory, the other endeavouring to wipe away the ignominy and disgrace which they had received. At length the Scots, Angusianus being slain, broke their ranks and ran away. Neither was the day unbloody to the Picts; their king likewise, and all his valiant warriors, being slain in that battle: the loss being in a manner equal on both sides, occasioned a peace between them for some short time. Angusianus reigned little above one year.

FETHELMACHUS, the Thirty-eighth King.

Fethelmachus was made king, in room of Angusianus. When he had scarce reigned two years, he levied an army, and made foul havock in the Picts country. As soon as the enemy could meet him, they fought with a great slaughter on either side. For the main body of the Picts, they having lost both their wings, were almost all encompassed round, and taken: yet they died not unrevenged. The king of the Picts, three days after, died of his wounds. The Scots, making use of their victory, having no army at all to withstand them, made a great spoil all over the Picts country: for the Picts having received so great a blow, never durst oppose them with their whole force; only they appointed some small parties of their men, in fit time and place, to withstand to straggling troops of their enemy; that so they might not plunder far from home. In the meantime, one Hergustus, a crafty man, having undertaken the command of the Picts, inasmuch as he was inferior in force, he applied himself to fraud; for he sent two Picts, who, pretending themselves to be Scots, were to kill the king. They, according to their instructions, treated with a certain musician about the murder of the king: for those sort of creatures were wont to lodge in the chambers of princes and noblemen, to relieve them whilst awake,

and also to procure sleep : which custom still continues in all the British isles, amongst the old Scots : so that, on a night agreed upon between them, the Picts were introduced by this minstrel, and so murdered the king as privately as they could ; yet they could not carry it so secretly, but that the king's attendants were awakened at hearing of his dying groans ; and so pursued the authors of the villany ; and when they could fly no farther, the king's officers took them, though they threw stones at them to defend themselves from a steep rock, and hurried them back to execution.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS I. the Thirty-ninth King.

Fethelmachus being thus slain, in the third year of his reign, Eugenius, or rather Evenus, the son of Fincormachus, succeeded him. About that time, Maximus the Roman General, being in hopes to conquer the whole island, if he could destroy the Scots and Picts both, first of all he pretends many favourable respects to the Picts who were then the weaker party ; and therefore, by consequence, more ready to treat with him. Then he filled with vain promises, that, if they would persevere in their alliance with the Romans, besides other innumerable advantages, they should have the Scots land to be divided amongst them. The Picts were caught with this bait, being blinded by anger, desirous of revenge, allured by promises, and regardless of future events ; hereupon they joined their forces with the Romans, and spoiled the Scots country. Their first fight with them was at Cree, a river of Galloway ; the Scots being few in number, were easily overcome by a more numerous army, and being thus put to flight, the Romans pursued them every way without any order, as being sure of the victory. In the meantime, the Argyle men, and some other forces of the remote parts, who were coming up to

join with their vanquished friends, fell in good order upon the scattered troops of the Romans, and made a great slaughter amongst their enemies. Eugenius gathered up those whom he could recall from flight; and, calling a council of war, was advised, that since his forces were not sufficient to carry on the war, he should return back to Carrick. But as Maximus was pursuing his victory, word was brought him, that all was in a flame in the inner parts of Britain. The Scots were glad of his departure, as being eased of a great part of their enemies, and though they were scarce able to defend their own, yet, between anger and hope, they resolved, before the summer was past, to perform some great exploit against their adjacent enemies; and, accordingly, they poured in the remainders of their forces upon the Picts. As they marched, they slew all they met, without distinction, and put all about them to fire and sword. Maximus, though he threatened and spoke contumeliously of the Scots, yet, being equally joyful at the destruction of both nations, as soon as he found an opportunity, marched against the Scots, upon pretence to revenge the wrongs done by them to the Picts. The Scots, on the other side, being now to fight, not for glory, empire, or booty, but for their country, fortune, lives, and whatsoever else is near and dear to men, drew forth all that were able to bear arms; and not the men only, but women also, (according to the custom of the nation), prepared themselves for their last encounter, and pitched their tents not far from the river Down, and near their enemies camp. Both armies being set in order of battle, first of all, the auxiliaries set upon the Scots, where some fighting in hope, others incited by despair, there was a very sharp, though short encounter; the Picts and Britons were repulsed with great loss, and had been certainly wholly routed and put to flight, if

seasonable relief had not come to them from the Romans. But Maximus bringing on his legions, the Scots being inferior in number, in the nature of arms, and in their military discipline, were driven back and almost quite ruined. King Eugenius himself fell in fight, as not being willing to survive his soldiers; and the greatest part of his nobles fell with him, as loath to forsake their king. Maximus, having obtained this great victory sooner than he hoped, and scarce finding any on whom he might vent his hatred, mercifully returned to his former clemency: for marching over many provinces of the Scots, he took those that yielded themselves to mercy, and caused them to till the land; withal adding his commands, that they should be contented with their own, and not be offensive to their neighbours. The Picts taking this his clemency in evil part, alleged, that the Romans and their allies would never obtain a firm, solid peace, as long as the nation of the Scots, which were always unquiet, and took all opportunities to plunder, remained alive; adding farther, that Britain would never be secure, whilst any of the Scottish blood remained in it: that they were like wild beasts, who would be sweetened by no offices of love, nor would they be quiet, though they suffered never so many losses; so that there would be no end of war, till the whole nation was extinguished. Maximus replied many things, in bar to such severities; as, it was the ancient custom of the Romans, if they overcame any nation, to be so far from extirpating them, that they made many of them denizens of their city: that though they had almost conquered the whole world, yet never any people or nation were wholly eradicated by them: that he, himself, having slain their king, with the flower of his army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their enemies. He farther urged, that his hatred against the Scots was as great as

theirs; but if they considered the matter well, it would be a much more joyful spectacle, to behold the miseries of them living, than the bloody graves of the slain; nay, that it was a more grievous punishment to live a dying life, than, by once dying, to put an end to all miseries. This was the sum of the discourse which he made, not so much out of any affection for the Scots, as out of an abomination of the Picts cruelty. Moreover he had an eye to the future, as judging it extremely hazardous to the Roman province, if the forces of the Picts, upon the extirpation of the Scots, should be doubled. But the Picts did so ply him with complaints, supplications, and gifts, that at length they obtained an edict from him, that all the Scots should depart out of Britain by a certain day, and the man that was found there after the time limited should be put to death. Their country was divided betwixt the Picts and Britons. Thus the surviving Scots, as every man's fortune led him, were scattered over Ireland, the *Æbudæ* islands, through Scandia, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, and were in all places kindly received by the inhabitants. But the Picts, though they made public profession of the Christian religion, yet could not forbear committing injuries against the priests and monks; which, in that age, were held in great veneration. So that those poor ecclesiastics were dispersed into all the countries round about, and many of them came into Icolmkill, one of the *Æbudæ* islands, where, being gathered together in a monastery, they transmitted an high opinion of their piety and holiness to posterity. The rest of the Scots being thus afflicted by wars, exiled from their countries, and in despair of returning thither again; the inhabitants of the *Æbudæ* isles, being of a fierce and unquiet nature, idle, poor, abounding in men, yet wanting necessaries, thought that they ought to attempt something of themselves; and so gathering a navy of birlins and small ships together,

under Gillo their commander, they landed in the county of Argyle. Having made their descent there, and dispersing and scattering themselves, amongst a country almost wholly destitute of inhabitants, to fetch in booty, they were circumvented by the Picts, who were sent to assist the inhabitants, and placed in garrison there; and their retreat to their ships being cut off, were all slain to a man. Their whole navy was taken, and reserved for service against the islanders. And not long after, they who fled to Ireland, partly out of remembrance of their ancient alliance, and partly out of commiseration of their fortune, easily incited a nation, naturally inclined to war and plunder, to afford them aid to recover their country and ancient patrimony. Ten thousand auxiliaries were allowed them, who, landing in that part of Scotland which is opposite to Ireland, struck a great terror into the people all the country over. Being encouraged by their first happy success, when they were consulting how to carry on the war, the Albine Scots, well knowing the strength of the Romans, and how much they exceeded other nations in their skill as to military affairs, persuaded them to be contented with their present victory, and to return home with their booty, and not stay till the whole of Britain was gathered together, to assault them. And since the forces of all Ireland, if they had been there, could not withstand the Roman army, which, by its conduct and valour, had almost subdued the universe; therefore they were to deal with them, not by open force, but by subtlety. That they were to watch opportunities; and since they could not match their enemy in numbers, force, or military skill, that therefore they should tire them out with toil and labour: and that this was the only method of rightly managing the war with them. The Irish Scots, on the other side, blamed those of Albium, whose former valour was now so languid, that though they were the offspring

of those who had almost overthrown whole armies of the Romans, yet could not now look them in the face; nay, there were some of the Albine Scots themselves of the same opinion, alleging, that this method of war, propounded by their countrymen, was very vain and frivolous, serving only to gall the enemy, but not to recover their own country; and that therefore they ought to follow their good fortune, and not to think of returning, till she made way for them. And, if they would act thus, then no doubt but God, who had blessed them with such prosperous beginnings, would bless their arms, so as to lessen the power of the enemy, either by raising up new tumults among the Britons, or by calling off the Roman legions to a war nearer home. That the occasion now offered was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in vain. This opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their prey. Thus, whilst in hopes to recover what they had lost, they indulged their own will, rather rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater forces, they lost the best part of their men. This slaughter being made known in Ireland, cut off all hopes of return from the Scots, and made the Irish fear, lest they also should not retain their liberty long; so that after many consultations, they could find no way more advisable, than that the Irish Scots should send ambassadors into Britain, to make peace with the Romans, upon the best conditions they could procure. Upon their arrival, Maximus first of all severely rebuked them, for that, without any provocation, they had causelessly excited the Roman arms against them. The ambassadors, in excuse, laid the blame on the rude rabble, and so they obtained pardon. The peace was made on these conditions, that the Hibernians, after that day, should never entertain or shelter any enemies of the Romans; that they should forbear to offer any injury to their allies; and that they

should manage their government with a friendly respect to the Romans. The Hibernians, having thus obtained better terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined Maximus to make this easy pacification, was, not his fear of the Hibernians, for he did not much value the disturbance they could give him, but because his mind being intent upon hopes of great matters, he was willing to leave all Britain not only quiet and free from war; but also affectionate and under an obligation to him. For, when he perceived, after the defeat and slaughter of so many of their armies, that the forces of the Roman empire were shattered and weakened by their civil wars; and that the emperors were not made by the senate and people, but by military election and favour; considering also, that he had conquered Britain, which none ever did before him, and thereby had got great fame by his military exploits, and had an army (for the number of it) strong enough: In this posture of affairs he determined, if fortune offered him an opportunity to seize on the empire, not to be wanting to so glorious an occasion. Prompted by this hope, he treated his soldiers with great affability, and bestowed on them many gifts; he took advice, in all his important affairs, of the noblest of the Britons, he recruited his army with Pictish soldiers, and committed several garrisons, in divers places, to be kept by them. The lands of the Scots he divided betwixt them and the Britons: To the Picts he left their ancient possessions free; only he exacted a small tribute from the remotest corner of the Scottish kingdom, which he had given to them, as a testimony, for so he gave it out himself, that all Britain was partly overcome, and partly settled on conditions of peace, by him. And by these artifices he strangely won the affections of the common soldiers: so that all things being in readiness, according to his conceived hope, he assumed the im-

perial dignity, as if he had been compelled so to do by his soldiers. After him, Constantine was chosen general by the Britons, being recommended only upon the account of his name; for otherwise he was but a common soldier at first. He being also slain, Gratian, a person descended of British blood, ruled over the island. But Maximus being killed in Italy, and Gratian in Britain, Victorinus was sent from Rome to govern Britain, as lieutenant. He, pretending to enlarge the empire during his administration, commanded the Picts, who were reduced into the form of a province, to use the Roman laws, denouncing a great penalty to those who dared to do otherwise; and whereas, Hergustus, their king, died whilst these things were in agitation, he forbade them to choose another king, or set up any other magistrate, but what was sent them from Rome. This the Picts looked upon as a mere slavery. Whereupon they begun, though too late, and to no purpose, to resent it, and complain they had been basely and unworthily betrayed by a nation allied to them, and in amity with them; and though sometimes they were at odds, yet they were partakers with them at all hazards, against a foreign enemy: so that now they suffered according to their demerits, who had deprived themselves, not only of all aids, but of all mercy and pity also. For now, who would be sorry for their calamity, who called to mind, to what miseries and necessities they had reduced their ancient friends? And that the oracle was applicable here, which foretold, that the Picts in time should be extirpated by the Scots. So that now they were punished for betraying the Scots: nay, their own punishment was the greater of the two, in regard banishment is more tolerable than servitude. For banished men are free, let their fortunes be what they will; but they themselves were loaded with the bitterest of all evils, which were so much more intolerable, because they

fell into them by their own demerit. But that they might have one to resort to, and procure a public consultation, for the remedying of these calamities, they create Durstus, the son of Hergustus, king. The nobles being assembled about him, to provide a remedy for their miseries, their complaints expressed the severity of their bondage. They alleged, that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real slavery; that they were shut up within the wall of Severus, as wild beasts, separated from all human commerce; and that all their soldiery, under the splendid name of war, were indeed drawn out for the shambles. That, besides the hatred of their neighbouring nations, they were bitterly reproached by the monks too, who cried out, that God justly despised and rejected their prayers, who had so cruelly persecuted his ministers, though they were their brethren, and of the same religion with themselves, in that they would not suffer them, by whom God might have been appeased or supplicated, to live in the same country with them. These things did grievously pinch their consciences; so that, adversity infusing some sparks of religion into their minds, and also some ease from their miseries being obtained, they at last pitched upon this, as the only way to recover their liberty: That after they had reconciled themselves to the Scots, they would also endeavour to appease the wrath of God, who was an enemy to them for their perfidiousness. In pursuance of this good resolution, understanding that young Fergusius, of the blood-royal, was in exile in Scandia, they thought, if he were recalled, that the rest also might be induced, by his authority, to return. To effect which, they sent an embassy to him, but secretly, for fear of the Romans, to sound his inclination, as to his return into his own country.

BOOK VI.

AFTER Eugenius was slain by the Romans, as hath been related before, and all the Scots banished from their country, the king's brother, whether Echadius, or Ethodius, is uncertain, for fear of the treachery of the Picts, and also diffident of his own affairs, hired shipping, and committed himself to the winds, and to fortune; and so sailed into Scandia, together with his son Erthus, and his nephew Fergusius. As soon as he arrived there, and came to court, the king of the country, being informed who he was, from whence he came, and what adverse fortune he had met withal; his language, and also his habit and mien soon procuring credit to his allegation, he was admitted into near familiarity with him. Fergusius living there, till he grew up to be a man, (his father and grandfather being dead), he addicted himself wholly to military studies; at which time many expeditions were made by the united forces of the north, against the Roman empire. Some of the forces fell upon Hungary, some upon Gallia; and Fergusius, both out of his love to arms, and his hatred to the Romans, followed the Franks, in their war against the Gauls: But that expedition proved not very prosperous; so that he returned into Scandia with greater glory than success: and when his name began to be famous, not only there, but also amongst the neighbouring nations, his renown reaching to the Scots and Picts, the Scots were in mighty hopes of recovering their own country again, and the Picts in full expectation of obtaining their ancient liberty, if, laying aside their old grudges, they should chuse him general, and try their fortune against the Romans. And indeed at that time the affairs of the Romans were brought to so low an ebb, by reason of the successes of the

neighbouring nations against them, that their condition was bait enough to excite old enemies to revenge the former injuries they had received from them. For their emperors, besides their being weakened by civil wars, were so vexed on every side by the Gauls, Vandals, Franks and Africans, who did severally make inroads upon them, each from his own coast, that, omitting the care of foreign affairs, they called back their armies into Italy, to defend Rome itself, the seat of their empire. In the midst of these commotions, they who commanded the British legions, esteeming the Roman affairs as desperate, studied each their own advantages, and severally to establish their distinct tyrannies. Neither were they content to vex the islanders with all kind of cruelty and avarice, but they also harassed one another by mutual incursions. Thus the number of the legionary soldiers daily decreased, and the hatred of the provincials against them increased; so that all Britain would have certainly rebelled, if their power had been but equal to their will. But that, above all their other miseries, was most prejudicial to the Britons, which the emperor Constantine, the last general of the Roman army there, caused them to endure; for, when he was made emperor, he withdrew not only the Roman army, but even the British soldiers too; and so left the whole island disarmed, and exposed to all violence, if they had had any foreign enemy to invade them. This was the chief occasion which mightily hastened the combination of the Scots. When affairs stood in this posture, secret messengers were dispatched between the Scots and the Picts; and they struck up a peace immediately. Then they both sent ambassadors to call home Fergusius, to take upon him the kingly government, as descending to him from his ancestors. Fergusius, being a military man, desirous of honour, and, besides, not so well pleased with his present state of life, but encouraged with the hopes of a better, easily accepted the terms. When his

return was noised abroad, many of the exiled Scots, nay, several of the Danes too, his acquaintance and fellow-soldiers, being animated with the same hopes, accompanied him home. They all landed in Argyll. Thither all those exiles who were in Ireland, and the circumjacent islands, having had notice given them beforehand of his coming, resorted speedily to him: and they also drew along with them a considerable number of their clans and relations, and several young soldiers too, who were desirous of innovation.

FERGUSIUS II. *the Fortieth King.*

Fergusius having got these forces together, was created the fortieth king of Scotland, being inaugurated according to the manner of the country. The black book of Paisley casts his return on the sixth year of Honorius and Arcadius, emperors: others, upon the eighth of their reign, that is, according to the account of Marianus Scotus, 403, according to Funecius, 404 years after the incarnation of Christ; and about 27 years after the death of his grandfather Eugenius. They who contend, out of Bede, that this was the first coming of the Scots into Britain, may be convinced of a manifest untruth, by his very history. When the assembly of the estates was dissolved, Fergusius being born and bred to feats of war and arms, judging it convenient to make use of the favourableness of fortune, and the forwardness of his men; and withal designing to prevent the report of his coming, demolished all the neighbouring garrisons, having not soldiers enough to keep them; and having recovered his own kingdom, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he prepared for an expedition against his enemy. In the meantime the Britons were divided into two factions. Some of them desirous of liberty, and weary of a foreign yoke, were glad of their arrival; others preferred their present settlement, though attended

with so many and great inconveniences, before an uncertain liberty, and a certain war. And therefore, out of fear of the danger hanging over their heads, and withal being conscious of their own weakness, they agreed upon a double embassy, one to the Picts, another to the Romans: that to the Picts was to advise them not to desert their old allies the Romans and Britons, nor to take part with their ancient enemies, who were a company of poor, hopeless, and despicable creatures. They farther sent them admonitions, promises, and, in case of non-compliance, grievous threatenings from the Romans, whom with their whole united forces they could never withstand; much less could they now cope with them, since one of them was exhausted by draughts and detachments of soldiers, and the other worn out with all manner of miseries.

The minutes of their instructions to their ambassadors at Rome were these, that they should furnish them with aids in time, whilst there was any thing left to defend against the rage of a cruel enemy; which if they would do, then Britain would still remain firm under their obedience; if not, it were better for them to leave their country, than to endure a servitude worse than death, under savage nations. Accordingly the Romans, though pressed close by wars on every side, yet sent one legion out of Gaul to defend their province, but with a command to return as soon as they had settled matters. The Britons having received those auxiliaries, did suddenly assault the plundering troops of their enemies, who were carelessly straggling up and down, and repulsed them with great slaughter.

The confederate kings having a well disciplined and regular army, came to the wall of Severus, and meeting their enemies by the river Carron, a bloody battle was fought between them. Great slaughter was made on both sides, but the victory fell to the Romans; who being in a little time to return into

Gallia, were content only to have driven back their enemies, and to repair the wall of Severus, which in many places was demolished. When they had done this, and had garrisoned it with Britons, they departed. The confederate kings, though they were superior to their enemies in making swift marches, and enduring of hardships; yet, being inferior in number and force, resolved not to fight any more pitched battles, but rather to weary their enemies by frequent inroads, and not to put all to a venture in one fight, since they had not as yet sufficient forces for such a general engagement. But when they heard that the Romans had returned out of Britain, they altered their resolutions, and gathering all their troops together, they demolished the wall of Severus, which was slightly repaired only by the hands of soldiers, and but negligently guarded by the Britons. Having got by this means a larger space to forage in, they made the country beyond the wall (which they were not able to keep, for want of men), useless to the Britons, for many miles. It is reported, that one Graham was the principal man in demolishing that fortification; who, transporting his soldiers in ships, landed beyond the wall, and slew the guards upon a surprise, and so made a passage for his men. It is not certain among writers, whether this Graham was a Scot or Briton; but most think he was a Briton, descended of the Fulgentian line, a prime and noble family in that nation; as also that he was father-in-law of king Fergusius. I am most inclined to be of this last opinion. The wall then being thus razed, the Scots and Picts committed most inhuman cruelties and outrages upon the Britons, without distinction of age or sex: for, as matters then stood, the Britons were weak, and unaccustomed to war; so that they sent a lamentable embassy to Rome, complaining of the unspeakable calamities they endured, and with great

humility and earnestness supplicated for aid; farther alleging, that if they were not moved at the destruction of the Britons, and the loss of a province, lately so splendid, yet it became the Romans to maintain their own dignity, lest their name should grow contemptible amongst those barbarous nations. Accordingly, another legion was sent to their relief, who coming (as Bede says) in autumn, a season of the year when they were not expected, made great slaughter of their enemies. The confederate kings gathered what force they could together, to beat them back; and being encouraged by their successes in former times, and also by the friendship and alliance of Dionethus, a Briton, they made approaches towards the enemy. This Dionethus was well descended in his own country; but being always an adviser of his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke, and then especially, when so fair an opportunity was offered, and the whole strength of the empire was engaged in other wars, and therefore suspected by his own men as an affecter of novelty, was hated by the Romans, but a friend to the Scots and Picts. These, understanding the design of the Romans was first to destroy Dionethus, as an enemy near at hand, and in their bowels, therefore, to obviate their purpose, made great marches towards them; and joining their forces with that of Dionethus, began a sharp encounter with the Romans; who, surrounded by numbers, both in front and rear, were put to flight. When the ranks of the legionary soldiers were thus broken, and gave ground, the confederate kings being too eager in the pursuit, fell amongst the reserve of the Romans, who stood in good order, and were repulsed by them with great slaughter: so that if the Romans, conscious of the weakness of their numbers, had not forbore any farther pursuit, their enemies had doubtless received a mighty overthrow that day; but because the loss of some

soldiers in but a small army was too sensibly felt, therefore they rejoiced the less on account of victory.

Maximianus, so our writers call him, who commanded the Roman legion, being dismayed at this check, retired into the midst of his province, and the kings returned, each to his own dominion. Then it was that Dionethus took the supreme authority upon him; he clothed himself in purple after the manner of the Romans, and carried himself as king of the Britons. When the Romans understood that their enemies were dispersed, they gathered what force they could together, and increased them with British auxiliaries, and so marched against Dionethus, who infested the provinces adjoining to him; for they thought to subdue him, from whom their danger was nearest, before his allies could come to his relief. But the three kings united their forces sooner than the Romans imagined, and joining all their strength together, they encouraged their soldiers as well as they could, and without delay drew out their armies in a line of battle. The Roman general placed the Britons in the front, and the Romans in the reserves. It was a very sharp fight; and the front giving ground, Maximianus brought on his legion, and stopt the Britons just ready to run; and then sending about some troops to fall on the rear, some brigades of Scots, being encompassed by them, drew themselves into a circle, where they bravely defended themselves till the greatest part of their enemy's army falling upon them, they were every man slain; yet their loss gave opportunity to the rest to escape. There fell in that fight, Fergus king of the Scots, and Durdus king of the Picts. Dionethus being wounded, was with great difficulty carried off to the sea, and in a skiff returned home. This victory struck such a terror into all the conquered, that it renewed the memory of ancient times, insomuch, that many consult-

ed whither to betake themselves for their place of exile. Fergusius died when he had reigned sixteen years, a man of an heroic spirit, and who may deservedly be called the second founder of the Scottish kingdom; nay, perhaps he may be said to exceed the former Fergusius in this, that he came into a country almost naked and empty, by the concession of the Picts; neither had he the unconquered forces of the Romans to deal with, but the Britons; who, though somewhat, but not much superior, to the Scots in accoutrements and provisions for war, were however far inferior to them in enduring the hardships of the field. But this latter Fergusius, when almost all the Scots were slain who were able to bear arms, being brought up in a foreign country, and after the 27th year of his banishment from his own, being sent for as an unknown king, by those subjects who were as unknown to him, marched with a mixed army, collected out of several nations, against the Britons, who were at that time assisted by the forces of the Romans; so that if divine Providence had not manifestly favoured his designs, he might seem to have undertaken a very temerarious attempt, and bordering upon madness itself. He left three sons behind him, very young children, Eugenius, Dongardus, and Constantius. Graham, their grandfather by the mother's side, was by universal consent appointed guardian over them; and in the meantime, till they came to be of age, he was to manage the government as regent. He was a person of that virtuous temper, that, even in the most turbulent times, and amidst a most fierce nation, who were not always obedient, no not to kings of their own nation, yet there happened no civil dissensions at home in his time, though he himself was a foreigner.

titute of its defenders, they applied engines, and destroyed the foundations too; and thus an entrance and passage being made, they forced their affrighted enemies to leave their habitations and dwellings, and to fly away for safety wherever they could find it. For the Scots and Picts were so eagerly bent on revenge, that their enemies had good reason to think all their former calamities tolerable, in respect to those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards the assailants, rather wearied than satisfied with the miseries of their enemies, returned home, and began at last to bethink themselves, that they had not so much taken away the goods of their enemies, as they had wasted and spoiled what would have been the rewards of their victory. They convened an assembly of the estates, where it was debated amongst them, how so great a victory might be improved; and their first resolution was, to fill those lands which they had taken from the enemy, with fresh colonies, for the procreation of a new progeny. This counsel seemed the more wholesome and advisable, because of the abundance of valiant, but indigent officers and soldiers, who had not room enough to live in their old habitations. This turn of prosperity being signified to the neighbouring nations, encouraged not only the Scottish exiles, but a great company of strangers too, who lived but poorly at home, to flock in, as to a prey; for they supposed, that a man of that spirit and conduct as Graham was, would never lay down arms till he had brought the whole island of Britain under his subjection. But there they were mistaken; for he, having run so many hazards, was more inclinable to peace, with honour and glory, than to risk his present certain felicity, by throwing himself into uncertain dangers. And therefore he made peace with the Britons, who were not only willing to, but also very earnestly desirous of the same. The terms were, that each people should be contented with their

own bounds, and abstain from wrong and violence towards one another; Adrian's wall was the barrier. After this peace was made, Graham divided the lands not only among the Scots, but also among those outlandish men who had followed his ensigns. By this means almost all the provinces were called by new names, because the persons that peopled them were men, for the most part, born in banishment abroad, and the rest perfect foreigners. Galloway, a country next to Ireland, falling by lot to the Irish, is thought to have got its name, so famed in their own country, from them. Caithness was so called, because it was mountainous. Ross, because it was a peninsula. Buchan, because it paid great tribute out of oxen. Strathbogy, Nairn, Strathnaver, Loch Spey, Strathearn, and Monteith, took their respective names from several rivers of the same appellation. Lochaber was so called from a loch, or rather bay of the sea. Many of the provinces situated on this side the Forth, as Lennox, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Douglasdale, had their surnames from rivers. Many places retained their ancient names, and some had theirs only a little changed. Afterwards, to the end that he might by just laws bridle licentiousness, which was grown to a great height by the long continuance of wars; he first recalled the monks and teachers of the Christian religion, out of banishment, to their own homes; and, lest they might be burdensome to an indigent people, he ordained, that they should have an yearly income out of the fruits of the earth; which, though it was small, (as those times were), was however deemed a handsome competency, such was the modesty and temperance of the men. He placed garrisons in the most convenient passages, to prevent all sudden incursions of the enemy; he repaired places that were demolished, and erected new. The fury of war being thus extinguished through the whole island, though

the Britons being saved, as it were, out of a dangerous tempest, did enjoy the sweets of public peace ; yet it was doubtful whether war or peace did them most mischief. For when their cities were razed, their villages burnt, their cattle driven away, and all their instruments of husbandry lost ; they who survived this cruelty of their enemies, were forced to keep themselves from starving by hunting ; or else to turn their course of plunder from their enemies upon their own countrymen ; so that a war at home was almost like to be the consequence of their having made peace abroad. Neither were they the only perpetual enemies of foreigners : for though they abstained from open wars, yet every now and then they spoiled the countries contiguous to them ; particularly a party of the Irish, encouraged with the hopes of booty, vexed the poor people, already miserably enough distressed, with their invasions by sea. Their last calamity, and the worst of all, was a famine ; which did so break the spirit of that fierce people, that many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves into their enemies hands. At last, those few of them that remained, lurking in caves and dens, were necessitated to come abroad, and to scatter the wandering troops of the plunderers ; they also drove the Irish back to sea, and forced them to depart from Albium. That mischief was no sooner removed, but a calamity nearer hand began to press upon them. The Scots and Picts, their eternal enemies, were not contented to drive preys from them by stealth, but watched an opportunity to attempt higher matters. For Eugenius, the son of Fergus, who till that time had lain still, under the tutorage of another, his strength being increased by a long peace, and much augmented by a list of young soldiers flocking in to him, desired to shew himself ; and besides the weakness of the Britons, there happened likewise a private cause of war : Graham, being his grandfather by the mo-

ther's side, and nobly descended (as I spoke before) in his own country, was of that faction which were desirous to free themselves from Roman slavery. This was the cause he was banished by the contrary faction, who were then more powerful; and so he fled to the Scots, his old allies, between whom many civilities had formerly passed. After his death, Eugenius, by his ambassadors, demanded a restitution of those fruitful lands which were his ancestors', situated within the wall of Adrian; intimating plainly to them, that unless they did restore them, he would make war upon them. When the ambassadors had declared their message in an assembly of the Britons, there were such heats amongst them, that they came almost to blows. They who were the fiercest of them cried out, that the Scots did not seek for lands so much (of which they had enough,) as for war; and that they did not only insult over their calamities, but also were resolved to try their patience: if the lands were denied, then a war would presently follow; if they were restored, then a cruel enemy was to be received into their own bowels; and yet they should not have peace even then, unless they imagined that their covetousness would be satisfied with the concession of a few lands, who were not contented with large provinces, which were parted with in the last war: And that, therefore, it was good to obviate their immoderate and insatiable desires, in the very beginning, and to repress their licentiousness by arms; lest, by the grant of small things, their desires might be enlarged, and their boldness increased to ask more. There was in that assembly one Conanus, a British nobleman, and eminent amongst his countrymen on the account of his prudence, who discoursed many things gravely, concerning the cruelty of their enemies, and of the present state of the Britons, and that almost all their young soldiers were drawn out for foreign service; adding withal, that war abroad,

seditions at home, and hunger occasioned by want, would consume, at least weaken, the miserable remainders of his countrymen! As for the Roman legions, they were gone home to quell their own civil wars, without any hopes of return; and therefore he gave his advice, that they should make peace with their formidable enemies, if not an advantageous one, yet the best they could procure. This counsel he gave, as he alleged, not out of any respect to his own private interest, but merely for the necessities of the public; which appears (said he) by this, that as long as there was any probability to defend ourselves against the cruelty of our enemies, he never made any mention of peace at all; he added, that he was not ignorant, that this peace, which he now persuaded them to, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small respite from war, till the force of the Britons, weakened by so many losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather strength by a little intermission. Whilst he was thus speaking, a great clamour run through the whole assembly, which put him into some consternation; for the seditious cried out, that he did not respect the public good, but only endeavoured to obtain the kingdom for himself, by means of foreign aid. Upon that he departed from the council, and called God to witness, that he had no private end of his own, in persuading them to a peace; but a tumult arising among the multitude, he was there slain. His unhappy lot made the wiser sort refrain from speaking their mind, and giving their votes freely, though they evidently saw that the destruction of their country was at hand. The ambassadors returning home without their errand, the Scots and Picts left off all other business, and prepared wholly for war. The Britons foreseeing the same after their fit of passion was somewhat over, sent ambassadors to Scotland; who, upon pretence of making peace, were to put some stop to the war,

and to offer them money; giving the Scots hopes, that they might get more from them, by way of an amicable treaty, than they pretended to seek for by war; that the chances of war were doubtful, and the issue uncertain; that it was not the part of wise men, to neglect the benefit which was in their view; and, upon uncertain hopes, to run themselves into most certain and assured dangers. Nothing was obtained by this embassy; for Eugenius was informed by his spies, that the Britons did but dissemble the obtaining of a peace abroad, whilst they were highly intent upon making mighty warlike preparations at home. The Scots and Picts being inflamed, for that very reason, with their old hatred, and invited by the calamities of the Britons; or else, lifted up with success, would give them no conditions, but to yield up their all; so that both armies prepared for the last encounter. The confederate kings having been conquerors for some years, grew high in their expectations, and hoped for a greater victory; and the Britons, on the other side, set before their eyes all the miseries that a fierce and conquering enemy could inflict upon them. In this posture of affairs, and temper of spirit, when both parties came in sight of one another, such a sharp fight commenced between them, as the inhabitants of Britain had never seen before. It was so obstinately maintained, that, after very long and hot service, the right wing of the Scots was, though with difficulty, forced to give ground; which Eugenius perceiving, having before brought all his other reserves into play, he at last commanded the very squadrons left to guard the baggage, into the fight; they being entire and fresh men, routed the Britons which stood against them; so that the victory began on that side, from whence the fear of a total overthrow proceeded. The rest of the Britons following the fortune of the other brigade, ran away too, and flying into the woods and marshes near the place

where the battle was fought; as they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, their enemies, baggage-men and attendants slew abundance of them. There fell of the Britons in this fight 14,000, of their enemies 4000. After this fight, the Britons having lost almost all their infantry, sent ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, commissioning them to refuse no conditions of peace whatsoever. The confederate kings, seeing they had all in their power, were somewhat inclined to mercy; and therefore terms of peace were offered, which were hard indeed, but not the severest which (in such their afflicted state) they might have propounded; the conditions were, "That the Britons should not send for any Roman, or other foreign army, to assist them; that they should not admit them, if they came of their own accord, nor give them liberty to march through their country; that the friends and the enemies of the Scots and Picts should be theirs in the same manner; and that, without their permission, they should not make peace or war, nor send aid to any who desired it; that the limits of their kingdom should be the river Humber; that they should also make present payment of a certain sum of money by way of fine, to be divided amongst the soldiers, which also was to be paid yearly by them; that they should give an hundred hostages, such as the confederate kings should approve of."

These conditions of peace were taken by some of the Britons with a very ill-will, and it was out of mere necessity they were obliged to accept them. The same necessity which procured it, made them keep the peace for some years. The Britons being left weak, and quite forsaken by the foreigners, that they might have an head to resort to, for public advice, made Constantine, their countryman, a nobleman of high descent, and of great repute, whom they sent for out of Gallic Britany, their king. He perceiving that the forces of the Britons were

broken, both abroad by wars, and at home by feuds, robberies, and discords, thought fit to attempt nothing by arms; but, during the ten years he reigned, he maintained peace with his neighbours; till at last he was massacred by the treachery of Vortigern, a potent and ambitious man. He left three sons behind him, of which two were under age; the third and eldest, as unfit for government, was spirited into a monastery, and there confined. However, he got to be created king, by the assistance of Vortigern, who sought to obtain wealth and power to himself, under the envy of another man's name. Peace affording large opportunities of cultivating and tilling lands, after a most grievous famine, such a plentiful crop of grain was produced, that the like was never before heard of in Britain. From hence arose those vices which usually accompany peace; as luxury, cruelty, whoredom, drunkenness, which are far more pernicious than all the mischiefs of war. Truth and sincerity were so far from being any where to be found, that equity, performance of promises, and constant good discipline, were not only subjects of scorn and laughter among the rabble, but among the monks, and those who professed a religious life; of which Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, and Gildas the Briton, do make an heavy complaint. In the meantime the ambassadors, who returned from Ætius, brought word, that no relief could be expected from him; for the Britons had sent letters to Ætius, some clauses of which I shall here recite as they are delivered by Bede; both because they are a succinct history of the miseries of that nation, and also because they demonstrate how much many writers are mistaken in their chronology. The words are these: "To Ætius, the third time consul, the complaints of the Britons." And a little after, "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea beats us back again upon the barbarians; we have no choice but one of these two kinds of death, either to be killed or

drowned." Now *Ætius* in his third consulship had *Symmachus* for his colleague, in the 446th year after Christ. Neither could there any aid be obtained from him, who was then principally intent upon observing the motions of *Attila*. The rest of the Britons being driven to this desperate point, *Vortigern* alone was glad of the public calamity; and in such a general confusion he thought he might, with greater impunity, perpetrate that wickedness which he had long before designed in his mind; which was, to cause the king to be slain by those guards whom he had appointed to be placed about his person; and afterwards, to avert the suspicion of so foul a parricide from himself, in a pretended fit of anger, as if he were impatient of delay in executing revenge, he caused the guards also to be put to death, without suffering them to plead for themselves. Thus having obtained the kingdom by the highest degree of villany, he maintained it in no better a manner than he usurped it. For, suspecting the faith of the people towards him, and not confiding in his own strength, which was but small, he engaged the Saxons to take his part, who were then turned pirates at sea, and infested all the shores far and near. He procured their captain, *Hengist*, with a strong band of soldiers, to come to him with three galleys, and he assigned over lands to him in Britain; so that now *Hengist* was to fight, not as for a strange country, but as for his own demesne and estate, and therefore was likely to do it with the more good-will. When this was noised abroad, such large numbers of three nations, the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles are reported to have flocked out of Germany into Britain, that they became formidable even to the inhabitants of the island. First of all, about the year of our Lord 449, *Vortigern* being strengthened by those auxiliaries, joined battle with the Scots and Picts, whom he conquered, and drove beyond *Adrian's wall*. As for what relates to *Eugenius* the king of the Scots, there goes

a double report of him. Some say he was slain in fight beyond the river Humber; others, that he died a natural death. However he came by his end, this is certain, he governed the Scots with such equity, that he may deservedly be reckoned amongst the best of their kings. For though he spent the first part of his life, almost from his childhood, in war, yet he made such a proficiency under the discipline of his grandfather, from whom he learned such an evenness of mind and temper, that neither the licence of camps, as it usually doth, could draw him to vice; nor make him more negligent in conforming his manners to the strict rules of piety; nor could his prosperous success make him more arrogant. And on the other side, the peace and calm he enjoyed, abated not at all the sharpness of his understanding, nor did it break his martial spirit; but he led his life with such an equality of behaviour, that, merely by the advantage of his natural disposition, he equalled, or rather exceeded, those princes who are instructed in the liberal arts, and from thence come to the helm of government.

DONGARDUS, the Forty-second King.

The same year that Eugenius died, which was in the 452d year of our Lord, his brother, Dongardus, succeeded him in the throne. He was of a disposition like his brother; for, as he was willing to embrace peace upon good conditions, so, when occasion required, he was not afraid of war. And therefore, in reference both to peace and war, he not only prepared all things necessary to resist the invasion of an enemy, but he likewise trained up the youth and soldiery of his country to pains and parsimony; that so they might be restrained from vice, and their minds not grow feeble and languid by long quiet, and too much prosperity. But the seditions at home, raised by the Britons, were the cause that his arms were not much famed abroad.

But being freed from that incumbrance, he gave himself wholly up to the reformation of religion; for the relics of the Pelagian heresy did as yet trouble the churches. To confute them, Pope Celestine sent Palladius over, in the life of his father Eugenius, who instructed many that grew afterwards famous for learning and sanctity of life; and especially Patricius, Servanus, Ninianus, Kentigernus. The same Palladius is reported to have first of all appointed bishops in Scotland; whereas, till then, the churches were governed only by monks, without bishops, with less pomp and external ceremony, but with greater integrity and sanctimony of life. The Scots being thus intent about purging and settling religion and divine worship, escaped free from that tempest of war which shattered almost all the world. In the second year of the reign of Eugenius, Vortigern was deposed, and his son, Vortimer, chosen king of the Britons. He renewed the ancient league with the Scots and Picts, that so he might more easily break the power of the Saxons, which was a triple alliance that the three nations had entered into against the Romans in the days of Carausius. Dongardus did not long survive this league, for he died after he had reigned five years.

CONSTANTINE I. *the Forty-third King.*

Constantinus, his youngest brother, succeeded him in the government; who, in his private condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted the throne, he gave a loose to debauchery. He was covetous, and cruel to the nobility, but familiar with men of an inferior rank. He gave himself wholly up to the debauching both of virgins and matrons, and to riotous feasts; having always musicians and stage-players about him, and all other parasites that would administer to his lusts and pleasures. The Scots nobility, being offended at these miscarriages, came often to him, to put him

in mind of his duty. He received their admonitions very haughtily, bidding them to look after their own affairs; and saying, that he had sufficient advice from others; he told them too, that they were much mistaken, if they thought to prescribe to their king, on pretence of advising him. And as he was thus arrogant towards his subjects, so he was abject and submissive to his enemies; for he granted them peace at first asking, and forgave them the injuries they had committed; nay, he demolished some castles, and delivered up others to them. This carriage of his did so far incense the Scots and Picts, that the Scots were ready to rebel; and the Picts, who before had dealt underhand with the Saxons, set up for themselves, and at last made a public league with them. But amongst the Scots there was one Dougal of Galloway, of great authority amongst the commons. He, for the present, restrained the multitude by an insinuating oration, in which he acknowledged, that many of those things which they complained of were true, and that what they desired was just. But yet if a war should happen to break out, as an addition to their other miseries, the kingdom would be endangered, nay, hardly to be saved from destruction; especially now that the Picts were alienated from them; the Britons, since Vortimer's death, but their uncertain friends; and the Saxons, who were very strong and potent, and who managed their victories with great cruelties, and in whose commerce there was no faith to be reposed, were always intent upon the destruction of all their neighbours.

The people being thus appeased by the wisdom and prudence of some of their grave elders, the king continued to reign, though with the hatred and contempt of all; but was at length slain by a nobleman of the Æbudæ, for ravishing his daughter, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is the common report concerning his death; but I rather in-

cline to the opinion of Johannes Fordonus, who says in his *Scotichronicon*, that he reigned twenty-two years, and at last died of a lingering distemper. In his reign Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britain, out of the Less Britanny beyond sea; he was the son of Constantine, who held the kingdom some years before; but he being treacherously slain, and his brother, who reigned after his father, being also massacred by Vortigern, through the like treachery, the two other remaining sons of Constantine were conveyed by their father's friends into French Bretagne. I think this original of Aurelius Ambrosius is more true than that which others deliver, among whom is Bede; for they say, that he was the last of the Roman stock who reigned in Britain. These two brothers, when Vortimer was murdered by the fraud of his step-mother, and Vortigern had made himself king without authority or power, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the great favour and expectation of all men, into the island, to recover their father's kingdom; and withal they brought no inconsiderable number of Britons out of Gaul along with them. After their arrival, before they would alarm the strangers, they subdued Vortigern in Wales, and then sent messengers to the Scots and Picts, desiring their alliance, and craving the assistance of their arms against the Saxons, the most bitter enemies of the Christian name. Their embassy was kindly received by the Scots, and the league before made with Constantine, was again renewed, which from that day remained almost inviolate, till the kingdom of Britain was oppressed by the Angles, and the kingdom of the Picts by the Scots. But the Picts answered the British ambassadors, that they had already made a league with the Saxons, and that they saw no cause to break it; but they were resolved to run all hazards with them for the future, and to be partakers of their good or bad suc-

cess. Thus the whole island was divided into two factions, the Scots and Britons waging continual war against the Picts and Saxons.

CONGALLUS I. *the Forty-fourth King.*

To Constantine succeeded Congallus, the son of Dongardus, Constantine's brother. He was inclinable to arms, but durst not then attempt any thing, because the people were effeminated and weakened by lasciviousness and luxury, during the reign of his uncle. And though many, in compliance with his disposition, (as usually kings have many such parasites), often persuaded him to take up arms, yet he would never be brought to hearken to it. First, then, he applied himself to correct the public manners; neither did he attempt to reduce the ancient discipline, till he had created new magistrates; and by their means had cut off many suits and controversies, and restrained thefts and robberies. Peace being settled at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil course of life; first of all by his own example; and, secondly, by gently chastising, or else contemning those as infamous who took no copy from him, but persisted obstinately in their evil courses; and thus he quickly brought all things to their former condition. Seeing, as I said before, at the beginning of his reign he gave himself wholly up to the study of peace, the Britons began to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius to recover Westmoreland from the Scots, which they had possessed many years. Upon this, several embassies being sent to and fro betwixt them, the matter was like to be decided by the sword, if fear of the common enemy had not put an end to the dispute; so that the league made by Constantine was renewed, and no alteration made in reference to Westmoreland. Congallus had war with the Saxons all the time of his reign; but it was a slow and intermit-

ting one, as parties met by chance when out upon plunder, and carrying off their several booties; in which kind of fighting, the Scots being nimble, light, and mostly horsemen, accounted themselves superior to their enemies; but they never came to a pitched battle; for Congallus was of opinion, that it was best to trust as few things as possible to the decision of fortune, and therefore he sent part of his forces to help Aurelius Ambrosius; and with the rest he wearied his enemy, and never suffered them to rest night or day. Merlin and Gildas lived in the days of these and the next kings. They were both Britons, and settled a great fame amongst posterity, who conceived a vast opinion of their prophecies and divinations. Merlin was a little the more ancient of the two, a cheat and impostor, rather than a prophet. His vaticinations are scattered up and down; but they are obscure, and contain no certainty at all, to encourage any hopes before their fulfilling, or to satisfy men when they are fulfilled; so that there is no truth in them on either account. And besides, they are so framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary events, as you will yourself. Yet, though they are daily furbished up, and also augmented by new additions, such is the folly of credulous men, that what they understand not, they are yet bold to affirm to be as true as gospel; and though they be taken in a notorious lie, yet they will not bear to be convinced of it.

Gildas was later than he, a learned and good man, and one who was held in great veneration both in his lifetime and after his death, because he was excellent in learning, and eminent for sanctity. The prophecies which go under his name, are such ridiculous sentences, and so coarse and so ill-framed in the wording of them, and also in the whole series of their composure, that no wise man can esteem them to be his. Each prophet had a patron

suitable to his own disposition. Merlin had Vortigern for his patron, and after him Uter, to whom he was a seer and pander in his lust. Gildas had Aurelius Ambrosius, a person no less admirable for the probity of his life, than for his victories in war; after whose death Gildas retired into Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, where he lived and died very devoutly. Our books of the life of Aurelius Ambrosius make mention of him; to Aurelius, Uter, the youngest of Constantine's three sons, succeeded, in the year of our Lord 500. And the next year after, Congallus, king of Scotland, departed this life, in the 22d year of his reign.

GORANUS, the Forty-fifth King.

Goranus, his brother, succeeded him, and, after his example, governed Scotland with great piety and justice, as far as foreign wars would permit him to do so; for he not only travelled all over the kingdom (as the good kings of old were wont to do) to punish offenders, but also to prevent the injuries which great men offered to the poor; who, in such cases, dared not to complain; and to curb their oppressive way of lording it over them, he appointed informers, who were to find out such miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him; a remedy necessary, perhaps, for those times, but a very hazardous one in these our days. He was the chief means and occasion, that the Picts, deserting the Saxons, made a joint league with the Scots and Britons. At that time, Lothus was king of the Picts, a person who excelled the princes of his time in all accomplishments, both of body and mind. Goranus dealt earnestly with him, to break his alliance with those barbarous nations; alleging, that he ought to remember his own country, in which they were all born, and especially their common re-

ligion. That he was much deceived, if he imagined, that the peace betwixt him and the Saxons would be faithfully kept, when once the Britons and Scots were overthrown; seeing he had to do with men of inhuman cruelty, and insatiable avarice. That they had given sufficient proofs how little they esteemed leagues, or any other thing, when they wickedly slew the nobility of the Britons, who had so well deserved of them, upon pretence of calling them out to a conference. That the son-in-law was saved alive by the father-in-law, not for any alleviation of his calamity, but for upbraiding him as an enemy. He added, that the sacred tie of leagues, which amongst other nations are accounted the firmest bonds of union, was amongst them as a snare or bait, to catch the simple and unwary in. To what purpose was it to run so many hazards, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Romans, if they must of their own accord give themselves up to the much harder and baser servitude of the Saxons? This was not to make a change of their condition, but of their master only: Nay, it was to prefer a blood-thirsty and barbarous one, before one that was mild and gentle. What a foolish and wild thing was it, to take away lands from the Scots and Britons, and to deliver them to the Germans? and so to despoil those who were but lately their friends, and endeared to them by many ancient courtesies and respects, that they might enrich pirates, the common enemies of mankind, even to their own destruction? That it ought to be esteemed the most grievous thing of all by one who was a true Christian, to consent to that league, whereby Christian religion must be extinguished, profane rites renewed, and wicked tyrants, the enemies of piety and humanity, armed with power against God and his law.

Lothus knew all this to be true, which he had spoken; and therefore he committed the whole af-

fair to Goranus's management. He easily persuades Uter, not only to make an alliance, but to contract an affinity too with the Picts; giving him Anna, who was either his sister, or else his daughter, begotten in lawful wedlock, to wife: I am rather of their opinion who think she was his sister, as judging that the mistake arose from hence, that Uter had another natural daughter, called Anna, by a concubine. After this league between these three kings, many victories were obtained over the Saxons, so that the name of Uter began to be great and formidable all over Britain. After all the commanders of the Saxons were slain, and the power of those that remained broken, and so things made almost hopeless and desperate among them, Uter might have been accounted one of the greatest kings of his age, had he not, by one foul and impious fact, brought a cloud over all his other great virtues. There was one Gorlois, a noble Briton, of great valour and power, whose wife Igerne, a beautiful lady, Uter, while yet in a private condition, doated upon; but her chastity being a long time a guard against his lust, at last her continency was conquered by Merlin, a man audaciously wicked; and in this adulterous commerce he begat a son on her, named Arthur. Uter, his own lawful wife being dead, himself now freed from nuptial bonds, and made a king, and so (as he thought) free from law too, not being able to bear the absence of Igerne, out of love to her, attempted a very rash project. He framed an accusation against Gorlois, besieged his castle, took it, slew him, married Igerne, and owned Arthur for his own son, educating him nobly, in hopes of leaving him heir to the kingdom. And seeing his wife's infamy could not be concealed, that he might somewhat extenuate it, they forged a tale, not much unlike that which had been often acted in theatres, about Jupiter and Almena, viz. That Uter, by the art of Merlin, was changed

into the shape of Gorbis, and so had his first night's lodging with Igerne; and indeed this Merlin was a man of that kidney, that he had rather be famous for a wicked deed, than none at all. Now Arthur, thus begot by a stolen copulation, as soon as he grew up, appeared so amiable in the lineaments of his body, and in the inclinations of his mind, that the eyes of his parents, and of all the people too, were fixed upon him, and gave many omens of his future greatness; so that, after his father's death, all agreed upon him to be their king. And his father was so much pleased with this humour of the people, that he cherished it by all the arts he could; so that now it was the common opinion, that none but Arthur should be heir to the crown. Uter died when he had reigned seventeen years, and presently Arthur was set up in his stead; though Lothus, king of the Picts, did much oppose it, grievously complaining, that his children (for he had two, begotten on Anna, Arthur's aunt, who were now of years) were deprived of their kingdom; and that a bastard, begotten in adultery, was preferred before them. On the other side, all the Britons stood for Arthur, and denied that he was to be accounted spurious, because Uter married his mother at last, though it were after his birth; and by that marriage had treated him as his legitimate son; and had always accounted him so to be: but although they pretended this colour of right, yet that which stood Arthur in most stead, was his great ingenuity, and those specimens of his virtue which he often shewed; nay, there was a tacit impression, as it were, on the minds of all men, presaging his future greatness. So that all ran in thick and threefold (as we say) to his party; insomuch that Lothus, being borne down not only by that pretence of right, (which, after that time, was always observed in Britain), but by the affections of the people running another way, desisted from his enterprise in demand-

ing the kingdom; which he did so much the rather do, because he was loth to trust his children, for whom that kingdom was desired, to the Britons, who had shewn themselves so averse to them. Besides, the entreaties of his friends prevailed with him, who all alleged, that no kingdom ought to be so dear to him, as to make him merely, for the sake of a throne, join in affinity with infidels (to the overthrow of the Christian religion,) who would no more inviolably keep their league and alliance with him, than they had done before with the Britons. Moreover, the liberal and promising disposition of Arthur, and the greatness of his mind, even above his age, very much affected him; insomuch that the league made by former kings, betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Britons, was again renewed, and upon that so great a familiarity ensued, that Lothus promised to send Galvinus, the youngest of his two sons, to the British court, as soon as he was old enough to bear the fatigue of the journey. Arthur entered upon the regal government before he was quite eighteen years old; but as his courage was above his age, so success was not wanting to his daring spirit; for whereas his father had divided the kingdom, by certain boundaries, with the Saxons, and had made peace with them on condition; the fair opportunity offered them, by reason of the youthful age of the king, more prevailed with them to break the peace, than the sanctity of the league could prevail with them to observe it. Arthur, that he might quench the fire in the beginning, gathered an army together sooner than any man could imagine; and, being assisted with auxiliaries from the Scots and Picts, he overthrew the enemy in two great battles, compelling them to pay tribute, and to receive laws from him. With the same eagerness and speed he took to London, the metropolis of the Saxon kingdom; and having settled things there, he marched his army directly towards York;

but the report of auxiliary forces coming out of Germany, and the approach of winter, compelled him to raise his siege from thence. But the next summer after, as soon as ever he came before York, he had it immediately surrendered to him; such and so great was the fear that his unexpected success the year before had struck into the minds of men. He took up his winter-quarters there, whither resorted to him the prime persons of the neighbourhood, and of his subjects; where they spent the latter end of December in mirth, jollity, drinking, and the vices which are too often the consequences of them; so that the representations of the old heathenish feasts, dedicated to Saturn, were here again revived; but the number of days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier sort trebled, during which time they counted it almost a sin to treat of any serious matter. Gifts are sent mutually from and to one another; frequent invitations and feastings pass between friends, and the faults of servants are not punished. Our countrymen call this feast Yule, substituting the name of Julius Cæsar for that of Saturn. The vulgar are yet persuaded, that the nativity of Christ is then celebrated; but it is plain, that they exhibit the lasciviousness of the Bacchanalia, rather than the memory of Christ's nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their tents by the river Humber; and, whether it was so or not, Arthur marched towards them; but in as much as the Britons were effeminated by pleasures, by that means they were less fit for military services; insomuch that they did not seem the same men who had overthrown the Saxons in so many battles heretofore; for, by their luxurious idleness, they had added so much to their rashness, as they had lost of their ancient severity of discipline. They being so, advice was given by the wiser sort to send for aid from the Scots and Picts. Ac-

cordingly ambassadors were sent, and aid easily obtained ; so that those who had been almost disjoined by ambition, were so reconciled by a mutual care of religion, and animated by emulation, that forces were sent from either king, sooner than could well have been imagined. Lothus also, that he might give a public testimony of his reconciliation, brought his sons, Modredus and Galyinus, with him into the camp : Galvinus he gave to Arthur, as his companion ; whom he received with so great courtesy, that from that day forward they lived and died together. The army of the three kings being thus ready, and their camps joined, it was unanimously agreed between them, that as the danger was common to them all, and the cause of it was also the same, so they would drive out the Saxons, and restore the Christian rites and religion, which were profaned by them. The armies drawing near the one to the other, Occa, son of a former Occa, then general of the Saxons, made haste to join battle. In the confederate army, the two wings were allotted to the Scots and Picts, the main battle to Arthur. The Scots, at the first onset, wounded Childeric, commander of that wing of the enemy that fought against them : he falling, by reason of his wounds, so terrified the rest, that the whole wing was broken. In the other wing, Colgernus the Saxon, after having cried out shame upon the perfidiousness of the Picts, assaulted Lothus, whom he knew by his habit and his arms, with great violence, and dismounted him ; but he himself being hemmed in among the midst of his enemies, was run through by two Picts, with spears on both sides of his body. The main battle, where the fight was sharpest, having lost both wings did at length give ground ; Occa being wounded, was carried to the sea-side, with as many as could get on shipboard with him, and transported into Germany ; those of the remaining Saxons, who were most obstinate in their error, were put to death ; the rest,

pretending to turn to the Christian religion, were saved.

There were other great forces of the Saxons yet continuing in the eastern part of England, and in Kent. The summer after, Arthur marched against them, having 10,000 Scots and Picts for his assistance. Congallus, the son of Eugenius, commanded the Scots; and Modredus, the son of Lothus, the Picts; both young men of great hope, and who had often given good testimonies of their valour and conduct. This army of three kings being about five miles from the enemy, and their camps being distant one from another, the Saxons being informed by their spies, that the Picts, who were farthest distant from the other forces, were very careless and secure, they made a sudden and unexpected assault on them in the night. Modredus made a gallant resistance for a time; at last, when things were almost desperate on his side, he mounted on an horse with Galanus, his father-in-law, and so fled to king Arthur. Arthur was nothing dismayed at the loss of the Picts, but spent that day in settling things which were discomposed; after that, his army being commanded to march in the third watch, he came upon the enemy with a treble army, and was at the Saxons camp before they knew what the matter was: the Saxons, all in a terrible dismay, ran up and down, having no time to take counsel, or to arm themselves; thus their camp being entered, they were slain by the Britons, but more especially the enraged Picts were cruel to all without distinction.

Some writers of English antiquity say, that Arthur fought twelve pitched battles with the Saxons; but because they give us only the names of the places where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall mention them no otherwise. To speak briefly of his famous actions, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the forces of the Saxons, and restored peace

to Britain; and when he went over to settle things in Less Britain in France, he trusted the kingdom to Modredus his kinsman, who was to manage the government as king till his return. I have no certainty of the exploits he performed in Gaul: as to what Geoffry of Monmouth attributes to him there, it hath no shadow, much less likelihood of truth in it; so that I pass it all by as impudently forged, and as causelessly believed. But to return to the matter.

Whilst Arthur was absent, and intent on settling the Gallic affairs, here were sown the seeds of a war, most pernicious to Britain. There was a certain man in Arthur's retinue, named Constantine, the son of Cadur: who, for the excellent endowments both of his body and mind, was highly in all mens favour. He secretly aimed at the kingdom, and to make the people his own; whereupon the nobles, at a convenient time, when the king was free from business, cast in words concerning his successor; beseeching him to add this also to the other innumerable blessings he had procured for his country, that if he died childless, he would not leave Britain destitute of a king, especially when so great wars were like to be waged against them. Hereupon when some named Modredus as nearest of kin, and already accustomed to government, both in peace and war; and one too who had given good proof of himself in his viceroyship, who was also likely to make no small addition to the British affairs: it is said, the multitude who favoured Constantine, cried out, that they would not have a stranger to be their king; and that Britain was not so bare of great men, but that it would afford a king within its own territories: they added also, that it was a foolish thing to seek for that abroad, which they could have at home. Arthur knew before the love of the people to Constantine; and therefore, though being a man otherwise ambitious, yet he easily took part with

the people; and, from that day, shewed him openly, and cherished in him the hopes of the kingdom. The friends of Modredus took this ill, and looked upon it as a great wrong to him; they alleged, that by the league made by Arthur with Lothus, it was expressly provided, that none should be preferred to the succession of the kingdom before the sons of Lothus. To which the contrary party answered, that that league was extorted by the necessity of the times against the common good of the whole nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now Lothus, with whom it was made, was dead; and that therefore the Picts would do well to be contented with their own bounds, and not to invade other men's. That the kingdom of Britain, by God's blessing, was now in that state, that it could not only defend itself against new injuries, but also revenge the old.

These things being brought to Modredus's ear, quite alienated his mind from Arthur, and inclined him to set up for himself, by maintaining his own dignity; only he a little suspended the war till he had tried the minds of the Scots. When they were brought over to his party, an army was listed, consisting of many Picts, Scots, and some Britons, who were induced to side with Modredus, either for the equity of his cause, the love of his person, or their private hatred of Arthur. Nay, Vanora, the wife of Arthur, was thought not to be ignorant of these new cabals, as having been too familiar with Modredus. Both armies pitched their tents by Humber, and being ready to engage, proposals were made by the bishops on both sides, in order to a peace, but in vain; for Constantine's friends obstructed all, affirming, that the felicity of Arthur's fortune would bear down all opposition. Hereupon, a desperate fight began on both sides; but two things especially turned to the advantage of Modredus and his confederates: one was a marsh in the midst between

them, which the Britons could not easily pass; the other was this: In the heat of the fight there was one suborned to spread a report among the Britons, that Arthur was slain, and therefore all being lost, every one should shift for himself. The rumour spread presently, they all fled; yet there was a great slaughter on both sides, neither was the victory joyous to either party; for, on the one side, Modredus was slain, and on the other his brother Galvinus, Arthur himself mortally wounded, and a great booty taken.

I very well know what fabulous matters are reported by many concerning the life and death of Arthur, but they are not fit to be related, lest they cause a mist to be cast over his other famous actions; for when men confidently affirm lies, they cause the truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, he was a great man, and very valiant, bearing an entire love to his country, in freeing them from servitude; in restoring the true worship of God, and in reforming it when it was corrupted. I have spoken of these things concerning his lineage, life, and death, at a greater length than the nature of my design required; for I never meant to record all the exploits of the Britons, but to free and preserve the affairs of our own nation from the oblivion of time, and the fabulous tales of some lewd and ill-disposed writers. I have insisted longer on the exploits of Arthur, partly because some curtail them out of envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious hyperboles. He died in the year of our Lord 542, after he had reigned 24 years.

But to return to the affairs of Scotland. Goranus, the king, now grown old, departed this life, after he had governed Scotland 34 years; it is thought he was treacherously slain by his subjects. There was one Toncetus, chief justice in criminal matters, a man no less cruel than covetous, who played many

foul pranks against the richer sort, and thought he might easily get pardon from the king, because by this means he had augmented his treasury. The people could not easily obtain admittance to the king, now grown weak with age and sickness, to make their complaints; and if they had access, they judged their allegations would not have been believed against such a principal officer, and so high a favourite; so that they set upon Torcetius, and murdered him. But, after the heat of their anger was over, when they began to think with themselves how foul a fact they had committed, and that there was no pardon to be expected by them, they turned their wrath and fury upon the king himself; and, by the instigation of Donald of Athol, they entered into his palace, and slew him also.

EUGENIUS III. *the Forty-sixth King.*

Eugenius, the son of Congallus, succeeded him. When he was advised by some of the nobility to revenge the death of his uncle Goranus, he entertained the motion so coldly, that he himself was not without suspicion in the case; and the suspicion was increased, because he took Donald of Athol into his grace and favour. So that the wife of Goranus, for fear, fled with her small children into Ireland. But Eugenius, to purge his life and manners from so foul an imputation, so managed the kingdom, that none of the former kings could be justly preferred before him. He assisted Modredus, and also Arthur, against the Saxons. He sent several captains to make daily incursions into the English borders, but he never fought a pitched battle with them. He died in the year of Christ 558, having reigned 23 years.

CONVALLUS, the Forty-seventh King.

His brother Convallus next governed the kingdom, and did so ten years with the greatest peace and tranquillity; a man whose excellent virtues rendered him worthy of eternal memory; for besides his equity in matters of law, and an aversion which he had from his very soul to all covetousness, he lived with the very monks themselves in point of sobriety of life; though they, at that time, were under most severe discipline. He enriched priests with lands and other revenues, more out of a pious intention, than with any good success. He restrained the soldiers, who were declining to effeminacy and luxury, and abused the blessings of peace, rather by the example and authority of his own life, than by the severity of laws. He called home the sons of Goranus, who for fear of Eugenius had fled into Ireland; but before their return he died, in the year 568. He never fought a battle himself, but only assisted the Britons with auxiliary forces against the Saxons, with whom they had frequent combats, the successes of which were very different.

KINNATELLUS, the Forty-eighth King.

When he was dead, and the throne devolved upon his brother Kinnatellus, Aidanus, the son of Goranus, came into Scotland, by the persuasion of Columba, a holy man, who, two years before, had come out of Ireland. This person introduced him to the king; who, beyond his own, and the expectation of all other men, received him very graciously, and desired him to be of good cheer, for it would shortly be his turn to reign. For Kinnatellus, worn out with age and sickness, and not capable of going through with the administration him-

self, placed Aidanus at the helm of affairs, and so died, having reigned fourteen, (some say fifteen) months. Some writers leave him out, and will have it, that Aidanus immediately succeeded Convallus; but there are more who give Kinnatellus a place betwixt them.

AIDANUS, the Forty-ninth King.

Aidanus being nominated king by Kinnatellus, and confirmed by the people, was installed by Columba; for the authority of that man was so great in those days, that neither prince nor people would undertake any thing without his advice. And at that time, after he had, in a long speech, exhorted the king to rule equitably over his people, and the people to be loyal to their king, he earnestly pressed them both to persevere in the pure worship of God, for that then both of them would prosper; but if they made any defection from it, they must expect destruction as the reward of their apostacy. Having performed this service, he returned into his own country.

The first expedition of Aidanus was against the robbers who infested Galloway. Amongst whom when he came, he put the ringleaders to death, and fear restrained the rest; but he met with a greater storm at his return. For, after he had held three conventions of the estates in Galloway, Abrya or Lochaber, and Caithness, and thought all things were settled, there was a tumult arose amongst them as they were a-hunting, where much blood was spilt, and the king's officers, who came to punish the offenders, were repulsed and beaten; the authors, for fear of punishment, fled into Lothian, to Brudeus king of the Picts; when ambassadors were sent to him, to deliver them up according to the league betwixt them, they were refused; whereupon a fierce war commenced betwixt the Scots and Picts, but it

was quickly put an end to by the means of Columba, who was highly esteemed by both nations, according to his distinguished merits.

In the mean time England was again divided into seven kingdoms, and the Britons were driven into the peninsula of Wales; but the Saxons, not contented with such large dominions, kindled a new war betwixt the Scots and Picts. The chief author and incendiary in this point was Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, a covetous man, and who was weary of peace, out of a mere craving appetite of enlarging his dominions. He persuaded the Picts, (but with very much ado, for Brudeus would hardly be brought to consent to it), to drive away preys out of the Scots territories, and that would be a handle for a new war. Aidanus being perfectly well apprised of the treachery of the Saxons, that he might also strengthen himself with foreign aid, renewed the ancient league with Malgo the Briton. He sent his son Grifinus, and his sister's son, Brendinus, a petty king of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man, a military person, with forces, who, joining with the Britons, entered Northumberland, and after three days march came to the enemy; but the English declined an engagement, because they expected new succours, which were reported to be near at hand; for indeed Ceulinus, king of the East Saxons, a very warlike man, was coming to them with great forces; but the Scots and Britons intercepted, and fell upon him in his march, and wholly destroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his son Cutha; but they were afraid to attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons being joined together, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scots nobles, Grifinus and Brendinus; in the oppo-

site army Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes ; and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party.

The next summer after, Ethelfrid, uniting his forces with those of the Picts, marched into Gallo-way, supposing he should find all things there in great consternation, by reason of their ill success the last year. But Aidanus coming with his forces thither sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them full of fear and trembling to their camp. Thus having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would then be more quiet, the night after, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. Both armies having thus united their forces, pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale ; and their enemies, as now sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering into it. But they having fortified their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took the opportunity at night-time, when the tide was out, to pass through a ford, which was dangerously full of quicksands, but that they knew every part of it, and so march into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havock in every place they came at. The enemy followed them at their heels, and, when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared themselves for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders more than they had before ; who were noble persons, of great experience in military affairs, that so the headstrong common soldiers might have the direction of a greater number of captains to guide their fury right. The officers superadded were Constantine and Mencrinus, Britons ; Calenus and Murdacus, Scotsmen. By their conduct and encouragement the soldiers fell upon the enemy with so great violence, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report, that Columba, being then in the Isle Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory

the very same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain, in this fight, Cailinus and Vitellius, both great warriors, and highly descended. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts infested the adjacent country; whereupon a day was appointed, on which the Britons and Scots should meet, and, with their united forces, set upon the Saxons. Aidanus, though very old, came to the place at the appointed time, and staid for the Britons, but in vain, for they came not; yet he drove preys out of his enemy's country. Ethelfrid having now got a fair opportunity of putting himself upon action, set upon the dispersed Scots, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Aidanus having lost many of his men, fled for his life: yet the victory was not unbloody to the Saxons; for they lost Theobald, Ethelfrid's brother, and some of those squadrons that followed him were almost wholly cut off. Aidanus having met with this sad overthrow, and being also informed of the death of Columba, that holy man, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what cruelty the remnant of Christians was likely to be exposed, grief and age so wore him out, that he did not long survive; he reigned thirty-four years, and died in the year of our Lord 604. In his reign it was that a certain monk, named Austin, came into Britain, being sent by Pope Gregory; who, by his ambition, in teaching a new form of religion, mightily disturbed the old, for he did not so much instruct men in the discipline of Christianity, as in the ceremonies of the Roman church. Nay the Britons, before his coming, were taught the principles of the Christian religion by the disciples of John the Evangelist, and were initiated in the same by the monks, who were in that age learned and pious men. As for Austin, he laboured to reduce all things to the dominion of the bishop of Rome only, and gave himself out to be the only archbishop of the Isle of

Britain; and withal introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful, concerning the day on which Easter was to be kept; and did by this means mightily trouble the churches: nay, he so loaded the Christian discipline, which was then inclin'g towards superstition, with such new ceremonies and figments of miracles, that he scarce left any mark or footstep of true piety behind him.

KENNETHUS I. *the Fiftieth King.*

After Aidanus, Kennethus was elected king; he did nothing memorable in his time. He died the fourth, or, as some say, the twelfth month, after he began to reign.

EUGENIUS IV. *the Fifty-first King.*

Next after him, Eugenius, the son of Aidanus, was proclaimed king, in the year of our Lord 605. He was brought up (as the Black Book of Paisley hath it) piously and carefully under Columba, being very well educated in human learning; yet in this he swerved from the institution of his master, that he was more addicted to war than peace, for he exercised the Saxons and Picts with daily incursions. His government was very severe and rough; those who were proud and contumacious, sooner felt the point of his sword than they received from him any conditions of peace; but to those who asked pardon for their offences, and voluntarily surrendered themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive, and not at all insolent in his victories. This is what that book reports concerning Eugenius. But Boetius says, on the contrary, that he lived in great peace; which happened not so much from his foreign leagues, as from the discords of his enemies, who kept up a civil war among themselves. For the English, who inhabited the south parts, and

professed the sacred name of Jesus Christ, whilst they were endeavouring to revenge the injuries offered to them, deprived Ethelfrid, the then most potent king of Northumberland, both of his life and kingdom together. Edwinus succeeded him, and Ethelfrid's relations fled into Scotland, amongst whom were seven of his sons, and one daughter. This came to pass in the tenth year of the reign of Eugenius. As these Saxons flew to him for refuge, so he (though he knew them to be enemies both to him and the whole Christian name) entertained and protected them with great courtesy and humanity as long as he lived. He gave them no less than royal reception, and took mighty care to have them piously educated in the Christian religion. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was much lamented by all men, who had every one a loss, and found every one a want of him.

FERCHARDUS I. *the Fifty-second King.*

His son, Ferchardus, was substituted in his room in the year of Christ 622, and in the thirteenth year of Heraclius the emperor. He being a politic man, and very wickedly guileful, endeavoured to change the lawful government of the land into tyranny; in order to which he nourished factions amongst the nobility, supposing by that means to effect what wickedly he designed with impunity. But the nobles, understanding his malicious aim, secretly made up the breach amongst themselves; and, calling an assembly of the estates, summoned him to appear; which he refusing to do, they stormed the castle where he was, and so drew him, per force, to judgment. Many and grievous crimes were objected against him, and particularly the Pelagian heresy, the contempt of baptism, and other sacred rites. Then, as he was not able to purge himself from any one of them, he was com-

mitted to prison ; where, that he might not live to be a public spectacle of disgrace, he put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign.

DONALDUS IV. *the Fifty-third King.*

His brother Donaldus, or Donevaldus, mounted the throne in his stead ; who, calling to mind the elogy of his father, and the miserable end of his brother, made it his business to maintain the true worship of God ; and that not only at home, but he sought by all lawful means to propagate it abroad. For when Edwin was dead, he furnished the relations and the children of Ethelfrid, who had remained exiles in Scotland for many years, with accommodations to return home ; he bestowed upon them gifts, he sent forces to accompany them, and gave them free liberty to pass and repass, as occasion should require. This Edwin, spoken of above, was slain by Kedvalla, as Bede calls him, king of the Britons, and by Penda, king of the Mercians ; one of which was his enemy, out of an old pique to the nation itself ; the other out of a new one, for his having embraced Christianity ; but both, still more out of an emulation of his power. The victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the records of history ; for whilst Penda endeavoured to root out the Christians, and Kedvalla the Saxons, their fury was so great, that it spared neither sex nor age. After the death of Edwin, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms. Osticus, cousin-german to Edwin, was made king of the Deiri ; and Eanfrid, as Bede calls him, but our writers name him Andefridus, Ethelfrid's eldest son, king of the Bernici. They renounced the Christian religion, in which they had been diligently educated, one by the monks, the other by Paulinus the bishop, and revolted to their ancient superstition ; but were both, shortly after, deprived of

their kingdom and their lives too, by Penda. Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, succeeded them both, a studious promoter of the Christian religion. He did but desire Donaldus, by his ambassadors, to send him some doctors of the Christian church; and he presently sent him some, and those truly men of great sanctity and learning; who were accordingly received by him with great humanity, and most bountifully rewarded. Neither did he think it below his kingly dignity, to interpret the meaning of their sermons preached to the people, who did not so well understand the Scottish language, and he would often gather them together for that purpose; all which is clearly expressed by Bede. Donaldus died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving a precious memory of his virtues behind him.

FERCHARDUS II. *the Fifty-fourth King.*

Ferchardus, his brother's son of that name, succeeded him, a person the most flagitious in nature. He had every vice stamped upon his heart, insatiable were his desires of wine and wealth. His cruelty towards men was perfectly inhuman, his impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. When his cruelty and rapine had raged among other folks, he converted his fury at last upon his own domestics. He killed his own wife; and he ravished his own daughters. For these crying sins he was excommunicated from the society of Christians. And as the nobles were just going to assemble, by way of consultation, about his punishment, Coleman, that holy bishop, stopped them; for he openly told him before several of them, that divine vengeance would speedily overtake him. And truly the event verified his prediction; for a few days after, as he was a-hunting, he was hurt by a wolf, and fell into a fever; and yet after that, not being able to abstain from his former intemperance, at last his body was

eaten up with the lousy disease; and then he is said to have cried out, that he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkened to the wholesome warning given him by Coleman. Thus, at last, seeing his error, and Coleman comforting him with hopes of pardon, in case he truly repented, he caused himself to be carried abroad in a litter, meanly apparelled; and there he made a public confession of his wickedness, and so died, in the year of our redemption 668. Scotland groaned under this monster eighteen years.

MALDUINUS, the Fifty-fifth King.

Malduinus, the son of Donald, succeeded him; who, that he might strengthen those parts of the kingdom which were weakened by the tyranny of the former king, made peace with all his neighbours: but having made all things quiet abroad, he was disturbed by a sedition at home, arising between the Argyle and Lennox men. Malduinus went in person against the authors of this tumult, that so he might punish them without prejudicing the common people. They, to avoid the king's wrath, composed their private jars, and fled to the Æbudæ Isles. The king sent for them to have them punished; and the islanders not daring to retain them, delivered them up; their punishment kept the rest in their duties. About this time it was, that when Scottish monks had propagated the doctrine of Christ almost all over England, and had so instructed the English youth, that now they seemed able, of themselves, to preach the gospel in a proper manner to their own countrymen, their envy against their very masters grew in proportion to their learning; and this prejudice went so far, that the Scottish monks were forced to return into their own country. As this contumely cut off the concord between the two kingdoms, so the modesty

of those who had received the wrong, kept both nations from an open formal war; but frequent incursions were made, and skirmishes happened in divers places. There broke out at this time, a terrible plague over all Europe, such as was never recorded by any writer before; only the Scots and Picts were free from the contagion.

By reason of the frequent injuries mutually offered, and preys driven away on both sides, each nation was like to break out into an open war, if the death of Malduinus had not prevented it. After he had reigned twenty years, his wife, suspecting that he had to do with an harlot; strangled him; and, four days after, she suffered for the fact, and was burned alive.

EUGENIUS V. *the Fifty-sixth King.*

Eugenius next, the fifth son of king Dongardus, began his reign. Egfrid, the king of Northumberland, (with whom he chiefly desired to be at peace,) endeavouring to deceive him by feigned truces, he played the same game of state, and turned Egfrid's artifices upon himself. Thus while both made a shew of peace in words, they each secretly prepared for war. When the truce was ended, Egfrid, though his friends dissuaded him from it, joined forces with the Picts, and entering into Scotland he sent out his foragers all over Galloway; but he was overthrown by Eugenius, the Picts giving ground in the fight, and lost almost all his army, so that he hardly escaped: but at last wounded, and with but a few followers, he made shift to get home. The next year, his friends then also dissuading him, he drew forth his army against the Picts; who, pretending to run away, ensnared him into an ambush, and cut him off, with all his men. The Picts laying hold of this so fair an opportunity, recovered those large territories which had been taken

from them in former wars; and the Britons who freed themselves from the government of the Angli, or English, together with the Scots, entered Northumberland, and made such an havock there, that it never recovered itself since. Soon after Eugenius died, in the fourth year of his reign.

EUGENIUS VI. *the Fifty-seventh King.*

Eugenius VI. the son of Ferchard, succeeded Eugenius V. as did Alfrid, brother to Egfrid, succeed him in Northumberland. Both kings were very learned, especially in theology, as learning went at that time of day; and also friendly one to the other, on the account of their common studies, so that the peace was faithfully maintained betwixt them. Alfrid made use of this tranquillity to settle his kingdom, though in narrower limits than before; but the Scots had neither an established peace, nor yet a declared war, with the Picts; excursions were frequently made, with very various success, though Cutberectus, an English bishop, and Adomannus, a Scottish bishop, laboured in vain to reconcile them; yet they ordered matters so well, that they never fought a pitched battle. In the meantime, Eugenius being inflamed with an insupportable hatred against the perfidiousness of the Picts, was stopped in the midst of his career of revenge; for he died, having reigned ten years. In his reign it is reported that it rained blood all over Britain for seven days, and that the milk, cheese, and butter were also turned into blood.

AMBERKELETHUS, *the Fifty-eighth King.*

After him Amberkelethus, the son of Findanus, and nephew of Eugenius V. obtained the kingdom. At the beginning of his reign, he counterfeited temperance; but soon returned to his natural disposi-

tion, and broke out into all manner of wickedness. Garnard, king of the Picts, laying hold of this opportunity, gathered a great army together, and invaded the Scots. Amberkelethus could hardly be excited to take arms, without much importunity, but at last he did: As he was going in the night-time to do his private occasions, having but two servants with him, he was slain with an arrow, (it was not known who shot it,) when he had not reigned full two years; but some say, that when he pressed upon the enemy in a thick wood, he was hurt with an arrow by them, and so died ten days after.

EUGENIUS VII. *the Fifty-ninth King.*

Eugenius VII. brother of the former king, was declared king by the suffrage of the soldiers in the field, that so the army might not disband, nor be without an head. He, putting little confidence in an army levied by a slothful king, lengthened out the war by truces, and at last concluded it by marrying Spondana, daughter of Garnardus. She, not long after, was murdered in her bed by two Athol men, who had conspired to destroy the king. The king himself was accused of the murder, but falsely; and before he was brought to judgment, the murderers were found out, whereupon he was freed. The offenders were put to the most exquisite of tortures. When matters were composed abroad, the king turned himself to the affairs of peace, and his delight lay very much in hunting; but his chief care was for religion. It was his first design, and by his appointment, that the noble acts and enterprises of kings should be registered in monasteries. He maintained an uninterrupted peace seventeen years with all his neighbours, and then died, at Abernethy.

MURDACUS, the Sixtieth King.

Eugenius, a little before his death, commended Murdacus, the son of Amberkelethus, to the nobility, to be his successor. There was peace all over Britain during his reign, as Bede says about the end of his history. He imitated Eugenius, not only in maintaining peace, but in endowing of monasteries also. He repaired the convent of Whitehorn, which was demolished. He died at the entrance into the sixteenth year of his reign.

ETFINUS, the Sixty-first King.

In the year of our Lord 730, Etfinus, the son of Eugenius VII. entered upon the kingdom. He being emulous of the kings before him, kept the kingdom in great peace during the space of thirty-one years that he managed the government: when he was old, and could not perform the kingly office himself, he appointed four vicegerents to administer justice to the people. Whilst these presided over the affairs of Scotland, some loose persons resuming their former luxuriant extravagances, by neglect, or (as some think) even by the encouragement of the magistrates, put all things into confusion; but their wicked pranks were the less taken notice of, by reason of the excessive cruelty and pride of one Donaldus, who, ranging over all Galloway, made the country people pay tribute to him; or else he robbed them, and reduced them to great want.

EUGENIUS VIII. the Sixty-second King.

Amidst these tumults, Eugenius VIII. the son of Murdacus, was set up in the room of Etfinus, deceased. His first enterprise was to suppress Donaldus, whom he overthrew in many bloody fights,

and at last took him prisoner, and publicly executed him, to the joy of all the spectators. He put Murdacus to death, vicegerent of Galloway, for siding with Donaldus, and set a pecuniary fine on the rest of the vicegerents: he made satisfaction to the people who had been robbed, out of the offenders estates. Wicked men being terrified for fear of these punishments, a great calm ensued after a violent tempest, and he confirmed the leagues formerly made with the neighbouring kings. Yet, after all this, he, who got so much glory in war, when once peace was ratified, gave himself up to all manner of vice; and seeing he would not be reclaimed, neither by the advices of his friends, nor of the priests, all the nobles conspired to destroy him; which they did in a public convention, in the third year of his reign. The companions and associates of his wicked practices ended their lives at the gallows; all men rejoicing, made a holiday to see their executions.

FERGUSIUS III. *the Sixty-third King.*

Fergusius III. the son of Etfinus, succeeded him; who, under a like counterfeit pretence of virtue, being horribly vitious at the bottom, died also after the like violent manner, having reigned the same number of years, viz. three. He was poisoned by his wife. Others write, that when his wife had often upbraided him with living in contempt of matrimony, and following whole flocks of harlots, and found no amendment from her reproofs, she strangled him at night, while he was sleeping in his bed. When inquiry was made into his death, and many of his friends were accused, yet, though severely tortured, would confess nothing, the queen, though otherwise of a fierce nature, and impetuous, yet pitying the sufferings of so many innocent persons, appeared, and from a lofty stand that she had chosen on some

high place, told the assembly, " That she was the author of the murder ;" and, presently, lest she should be made a living spectacle of reproach, she stabbed herself in the breast with a knife : which fact of her's was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several humours and dispositions of the men of those days.

SOLVATHIUS, the Sixty-fourth King.

King Solvathius, the son of Eugenius VIII. is the next in order ; who, if he had not contracted the gout, by being in damps and colds, in the third year of his reign, might well be reckoned, for his personal valour, amongst the best of kings ; yet, notwithstanding his disease, he shewed his great wisdom and prudence in the choice of his generals, by whom he appeased all tumults. First of all, Donaldus Banus, *i. e.* white, standing in no fear of being attacked by a lame and gouty prince, had the boldness to seize upon all the western islands, and to call himself king of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a descent on the continent, and carrying away much prey, he was forced, by Cullanus, general of the Argyle men, and by Duchalus, captain of the Athol men, into a wood, out of which there was but one passage ; so that their endeavours to escape were fruitless, but he and his party were there slain to a man. One Gilcolumbus, out of the same hopes, and with the same audacity, assaulted Galloway, which his father had oppressed before : but he also was overthrown by the same generals, and shared the self-same fate. In the mean time there was no disturbance from the English and Picts, but the continuance of peace was occasioned by their combustions at home. Solvathius reigned 20 years, and died in the year of Christ 787, having had the general applause of mankind.

ACHAIUS, the Sixty-fifth King.

Achaius, the son of Etfinus, succeeded him. He had made peace with the Angles and Picts, but understanding that war was threatened from Ireland, composed the seditions that were like to happen at home; and this he did, not only by his industry, but by his largesses and bounty. The cause of the Irish war was this. In the reign of the former king, who was unfit to make any expedition, the Irish and the islanders, out of hope of prey and impunity, had made a descent upon Kintyre, the adjoining peninsula, with great armies, both at one and the same time. But a feud arising between the plunderers, many of the islanders, and all the Irish, were slain. To revenge this slaughter, the Irish rigged out a great navy, to sail into the *Æbudæ*. Achaius sent ambassadors to them, to acquaint them, that they had no just cause for a war, in regard that thieves, fighting for their prey, had slain one another; that the loss was not, that so many were slain, but rather that any of them had escaped. They farther alleged, that the king and his national councils were so far from offering any injury to the Irish, that they had put all the authors of the late slaughter to death. The ambassadors discoursing many things to this purpose, all they could say was so coarsely and barbarously rejected by the Irish, that they sent out their fleet against the Albine Scots, even before the departure of those ambassadors. When their fleet was on the main, a tempest arose, in which they universally perished. This mischance occasioned some sentiments of remorse and pity in the Irish, so that now they humbly sued for that peace, which they had before disdainfully refused.

But, first of all, Achaius made peace between the Scots and the French, chiefly for this reason, be-

cause not only the Saxons who inhabited Germany, but even those who had fixed in Britain, infested Gaul with piratical invasions. And besides, Charles the Great, whose desire was to ennoble France, not only by arms, but literature, had sent for some learned men out of Scotland, to read philosophy in Greek and Latin at Paris. For there were yet many monks in Scotland, eminent for learning and piety, the ancient discipline being then not quite extinguished; amongst whom was Johannes, surnamed Scotus; or, which is all one, Albinus, for the Scots, in their own language, call themselves Albini. He was the preceptor of Charles the Great, and left very many monuments of his learning behind him; and, in particular, some rules of rhetoric, which I have seen, with the name Johannes Albinus inscribed, as author of the book. There are also some writings of Clement, a Scot, remaining, who was a great professor of learning at the same time in Paris. There were many other Scottish monks, who went over into France, out of their zeal for God and godliness, who preached the doctrine of Christianity to the people inhabiting about the Rhine, and that with so great success, that the people built monasteries in many places. The Germans pay this to their memory, that, even to our days, Scots are made the governors over those monasteries. Though Achaius was desirous of peace, yet the Pictish affairs drew him on to a war. For when Athelstan, the Englishman, had wasted the neighbouring lands of the Picts, Hungus their king, obtained the aid of ten thousand Scots from Achaius, who before was disgusted with the English. He placed his son Alpinus commander over them, who was born to him by the sister of Hungus. By the assistance of those auxiliaries, he carried a great deal of plunder out of Northumberland. Athelstan, a fierce warrior, was almost at his heels, and overtook him not far from Haddington. The Picts, dis-

mayed at the sudden approach of their enemies, stood immediately to their arms, and kept themselves in their stations, till very late. Having set their watches for the night, Hungus being inferior in other things, desired aid of God, and gave himself wholly up to prayer. At last, when his body was wearied with labour, and his mind oppressed with care, he seemed to behold Andrew the apostle standing by him in his sleep, and promising him the victory. This vision being declared to the Picts, filled them full of hope; so that they prepare themselves with great alacrity for a combat, which it was in vain to think of avoiding. The next day being spent in, light skirmishes, on the third they came to a pitched battle. Some add, that another prodigy was seen in the heavens, a cross like the letter X, at the time of the engagement, which did so terrify the English, that they could hardly sustain the first onset of the Picts. Athelstan was slain there, who gave name to the place of battle, which is yet called Athelstan's-ford. Hungus ascribed the victory to St Andrew; to whom, besides other gifts, he offered the tithes of his royal demesnes. I am of opinion, that this was the Athelstan, commander of the Danes, to whom the English affirm that Northumberland was granted by Alfred. Achaius died the thirty-second year of his reign, and in the year of Christ eight hundred and nineteen.

CONGALLUS III. *the Sixty-sixth King.*

Congallus, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who reigned five years in profound peace, both at home and abroad.

DONGALLUS, *the Sixty-seventh King.*

Dongallus, the son of Solvathius, was next king to him. The young soldiers, not able to endure the

severity of his government, went in a body to Alpinus, the son of Achaius; and because they could not persuade him by fair means to undertake the government of the kingdom, they compelled him, by force and menaces, to be seemingly on their side. He having raised and formed an army, and pretending to do as they would have him, disappointed them, and fled to Dongallus. His coming was acceptable to the king, but a great dismay to the rebels; and therefore they accuse him to the king, as if Alpinus himself had persuaded them to rebel. The king, well perceiving their calumny, prepared an army so suddenly, that he was upon them before there could be the least rumour of his coming. Those of them whom he took, he punished.

In the mean time Hungus died, and his eldest son Dorstologus was slain by the treachery of his brother Eganus; neither did the murderer long survive his brother. So that the male stock of Hungus being extinct, his sister's son Alpinus, as next heir, both by the ancient law, and in right of blood, claimed the kingdom. The Picts disdained him as a foreigner; whereupon Dongallus sent messengers to them to expostulate the matter; but they refused to give them audience, and even commanded them to depart in four days. Dongallus intended to make war upon them with all his might; but in the midst of his preparation, as he was passing over the Spey, whose current was very violent, the vessel in which he was, sunk, and he was drowned after he had reigned six years, some say seven.

ALPINUS, the Sixty-eighth King.

Alpinus, the son of Achaius, led the army raised by Dongallus, against Feredethus, who had seized upon, and arrogated the kingdom of the Picts to himself. The armies met at Restenot, a village of Angus; the fight was maintained with great obstinacy and cruel bloodshed, even until night; the

victory was uncertain, though the death of Feredethus made it incline to the side of the Scots. For when he saw his men fly in the fight, with a troop of young noblemen, he broke through the main body of the Scots, and being thus separated from his men, was there slain, with the flower of his nobility. Brudus was substituted in his place, a slothful person, and unfit for military affairs. In his reign, the Scots drove preys out of their enemy's country, without resistance; and the Picts raising up a tumult on purpose amongst themselves, slew Brudus before he had reigned one year. Then they set up Kennethus, another of Feredethus's sons, in his stead; one neither more valiant, nor more successful than his brother: for when he had levied an army, and came in sight of his enemies, he stole privately away, and so was killed by countrymen, who upbraided him as a fugitive, not knowing who he was. The Picts having lost their king, before their enemies were sensible of it, returned home, and made another Brudus king, one of high descent and noble achievements. He, as soon as he entered upon the government, set upon the straggling plunderers, and curbed their rashness, making a great slaughter amongst them; after that, that he might strengthen his weak forces by foreign aids, he sent ambassadors, with great gifts, to the English, who were the nearest to him. They received the gifts, and were large enough in their promises of assistance; but, though the Picts earnestly pressed them, yet they put them off, laying the fault on their own combustions at home. The Picts being disappointed of their hope there, levied every man of their own that was able to bear arms, and resolved to venture their all. With this resolution they marched directly towards the enemy, who were encamped not far from Dundee. As soon as they met, the battle was so much the more sharp, by reason of the old hatred, and the recent and fresh disgust, the many mutual slaughters,

and the frequent injuries and wrongs, committed on both sides. The conflict was a long time doubtful, when, at last, an hundred Pictish horse rose of an ambush; who, that they might seem to be a greater number, had also mounted their baggage-men and attendants upon their baggage-horses, and so, shewing themselves upon the tops of the hills, they wheeled about, as if they would have set upon the rear of their enemy's army. That apprehension struck such terror into the Scots, that they presently scattered, and fled into the neighbouring woods; by which many of them saved their lives, only some few were slain in the fight, but more in flight, by the nimble baggagers, who were set on horseback. King Alpinus and many of his nobles were taken prisoners, and inhumanly put to death. The king's head was fastened to a pole, and carried up and down the army; till at last they set it up for a spectacle in the most eminent place of the greatest town they had, (which then was Abernethy). The place where he was slain, as yet retains his name, being called *Bas Alpin*, i. e. the death of Alpin.

KENNETHUS II. *Sixty-ninth King.*

Alpinus being slain, after he had reigned three years, his son Kennethus succeeded him. The next summer the Picts having some hopes, that, if they did but endeavour it, the Scots might easily be driven out of Britain, as they had been heretofore; they hired some troops of the English, and joined them with whatever forces of their own they could raise. But a sudden sedition arising among themselves, and that so outrageous, that king Brudus himself could not compose it, the army disbanded upon it; and Brudus died about three months after, rather of a broken heart, than of disease. His brother Druskenus was declared king in his room, who in vain attempted to compose things at home; but in

the interim, some young Scots fetched off by night the head of Alpinus, from the place where the Picts had set it up, and brought it to Kennethus; he not only commended them for their noble exploit, but also rewarded them with a grant of some lands. Kennethus summoned together an assembly to consult about a war with the Picts; and though the king himself, and the forwardest of the soldiers, were for revenging the treachery of such a perfidious people; yet the major part, and especially the graver sort, thought it more advisable to stay, till their forces, which had been weakened in former wars, had recovered themselves afresh: in the meantime, they would neither seek peace, nor yet make war with the Picts, till a better opportunity for either should offer itself. This opinion prevailed; so that there was peace betwixt the two nations for three years, as if it had been by common consent. But in the fourth year, Kennethus, eager to renew the war, and yet finding few of the nobles of his mind, invited them to a banquet: the entertainment continued till late at night, so that they were all obliged of necessity to lodge at the king's house; which they might the more easily do, in regard every man, according to the custom of their ancestors, lay on the ground, and so they disposed of themselves in that large house, having nothing under them but leaves and grass. When they were going to sleep, the king suborned a youth, one of his kinsmen, commanding him to clothe himself with the skins of fishes, especially of the stock-fish, dried in the wind, and to enter by night, and to speak through a long tube, that the voice might better reach their ears at a distance, and thus to exhort them to war; as if a message had been sent them from heaven to that purpose. The nobles were suddenly awakened at this voice, which at that time seemed to them to be greater and more august than a man's; many also were laden with wine, and the sudden flashing of

light from the fishes skins darting upon their drowsy eyes, and dazzling them, put them into a very great astonishment; in fine, an unwonted apparition affected the eyes of them all, and a kind of religious consternation seized upon their minds. And that which increased the admiration was, that the messenger, stripping himself of his disguised habit, and by a secret passage, conveying himself away, as in an instant, seemed to have vanished out of sight. When the news of it was brought to the king in the morning, and many added to the story, as is usual in such cases, he was pleased to affirm too, that he saw the like apparition in his sleep. Immediately a war was concluded upon by the general consent of them all, as if they had received the word of command from God himself. When the armies were led forth to battle, as soon as ever they came in sight one of another, every one ran upon the enemy which stood next to him, without so much as staying for the command of their captains. The fight was as fiercely continued, as it was eagerly begun. At last the victory inclined to the Scots. Those in whom the Picts put most confidence, proved their ruin. For the English troops, seeing that all things were managed without order, and by a tumultuary force, retreated to the next hill, as if they had only been spectators of other men's danger. There was a mighty slaughter made of the Picts. For the Scots were highly provoked against them, not only by their ancient hatred, but by the remembrance of their late cruelty against Alpinus, and against the rest whom they had taken prisoners with that king; but that which chiefly inflamed their minds, was a watch-word, spread abroad among the Scots, 'that they should remember Alpinus.' The moment that word was given, they spared neither age, nor any rank of men. The hills covered the retreat of the English; and the Scots were so vehemently intent upon revenging themselves on the Picts, that they could not pursue

them. This victory reduced the Picts to so low an ebb; and rendered their condition so deplorable, that, though they endeavoured to make peace, yet all was in vain; for the Scots would hearken to no conditions, but the full and entire surrender of their whole kingdom. The next year, when all places were surrendered up beyond Forth northwards, and garrisons placed in them, as Kennethus was marching his army against those on this side of it, word was brought him, that some of the garrisons which he had left behind, were taken, and the soldiers slain. Upon these advices, he marched his army back against the rebellious Picts, of whom he spared neither man, woman, nor child; but put the whole country to fire and sword. Druskenus, seeing the Picts were enraged, almost like madmen, at the cruelty exercised over them, and knowing now that they must fight, not for their kingdom, but for their very lives, and the lives of their wives and children, gathered together all the force that ever he could make; and so passing the Forth, came to Scone, a town situated on the banks of the river Tay, where he waited for the coming of the Scots. There they again endeavoured to make a pacification, offering to surrender all the country beyond the Forth; but the Scots would have all, or none. The fight, as must be in such circumstances of necessity, was very fierce. At last, the Picts, after an obstinate resistance, were broken; and the river Tay, putting a stop to their flight, was the cause of their destruction. For Druskenus, and almost all his nobility, being not able to pass it, were there slain; and the common soldiers had no better fortune; for as they crowded to the river in several places to save themselves, they laboured also under the same incapacity of passing it, and so they every one of them lost their lives. Hence it is, (as I judge,) that our writers say, we fought with the Picts seven times in one day. The force of the Picts was wholly broken

by this overthrow, and Kennethus laid Lothian and the adjacent country waste, together with those beyond the Forth, that they might never be able to recover themselves again. The garrisons, for fear, surrendered themselves. Those few Picts who were left alive, fled into England, in an indigent and necessitous condition.

BOOK VI.

As I formerly called Fergusius I. and after him Fergusius II. the founders of the Scottish kingdom, and that with very great reason; so I may justly reckon Kennethus, the son of Alpinus, a third founder of it. Fergus I. from a mean beginning, advanced the affairs of the Scots to such an height, that they were envied by their neighbours. Fergus II. when they were banished and dispersed into remote countries, and, in the judgment of their enemies, quite extirpated, did, as it were, recall them to life, and in a few years restored them to their ancient splendour. But Kennethus was so courageous, as to accept of the kingdom, at a time when affairs were almost become desperate: nay, at a time when others thought, that the small remainder of the Scots could hardly have been defended, or kept together; and not only so, but he confounded the power of the enemy, (though assisted with foreign aids, and big with a late triumphant victory), in many sharp, yet prosperous fights; and, when he had thus weakened them, he drove them out of Britain, and took from their king the royal name, which to this day he could never recover again. Though these were great achievements, yet they were not the greatest he performed: for, as he enlarged his kingdom, and made it double of what it was before, so he governed it in such a man-

ner, both by making new laws, and also by reviving the old ones, that neither licentiousness, the child of war, nor pride, the product of victory, nor any footsteps of those evils which are wont to accompany luxury and ease, did appear during his life. Nay, the affairs of Scotland seemed to be supported for many years after, by his laws, called by posterity the Macalpin Laws, as much as they were by arms. But to let these things pass: I shall proceed to relate his noble acts as I have begun. Kennethus having driven out the Picts, distributed their lands among his soldiers, according to each man's valour and merit: who, out of an ambition, gave many places and countries new names, and abrogated the old ones. He parted Horestia betwixt two brothers, Æneas and Mearn; one part of which, in old Scottish, is yet called *Æneia*, (they who more affect the English speech call it Angus); the other called, Mearn. The country adjoining, from Tay to the Forth, was called by the ancients, Ross, *i. e.* a peninsula. There are some signs of the name yet remaining, as Culross, a town which is, as it were, the Back or Hinder part of Ross; and Kinross, which signifies the Head of Ross. Now, at this day, all that country is called Fife, from an eminent person called Fifus, whose surname they say was Duffus. Barodunum, a town in Lothian, or, as some call it, Dunbar, was so called (as it is thought) from a great man named Bar. Lothian had its name, not long ago, from Lothus, king of the Picts. Cunningham is wholly a Danish word, used, as I think, by the Danes, after the death of Kennethus, who possessed that country for some years, having driven the Scots beyond the wall of Severus; for Cunningham signifies, in the Danish language, the king's house or palace. It is also probable that March was so called by the Danes, because it fixed the limits between both kingdoms. As for Edinburgh, either by the gross ignorance or perverse ill-will of some,

it is sometimes called *Villis Dolorosa*, i.e. the Dole-some Valley, and sometimes *Castrum Puellarum*, Maiden Castle. The name in itself is not very obscure, though it is made so by ill management. For they borrowed those names from French romances, which were devised within the space of three hundred years last past. This is certain, that the ancient Scots called it *Dunedinum*; the latter *Edinburgum*, in which they follow their country custom in imposing of names; whereas that castle, in a middle appellation between both, I think may be better named *Edinum*. But enough in this place concerning the old and the new names of the countries, of which I have spoken more largely before. To turn, then, to Kennethus: Having enlarged his kingdom, as I said before, and settled wholesome laws for the good administration of the government, he endeavoured farther to confirm his royal authority by mean and trivial things, even bordering upon superstition itself. There was a marble stone, which Simon Brecus is reported to have brought into Ireland out of Spain, which Fergus, the son of Ferchard is also said to have brought over into Scottish Albion, and have placed it in Argyle. This stone Kennethus removed out of Argyle to Scone, by the river Tay, and placed it there, enclosed in a chair of wood. The kings of Scotland were wont to receive both the kingly name and the royal robes sitting in that chair, till the days of Edward I. of England, of whom in his place. Kennethus translated the Episcopal see, which the Picts had placed at Abernethy, to *Fanum Reguli*, which the after ages called St. Andrews. But the ancient Scots bishops, being chosen out of monasteries, not then contending for place or honour, but for sanctity and learning, performed their functions every where, occasionally, as opportunity offered, without envy or emulation; no certain dioceses being allotted to them, in regard the ecclesiastical func-

tion was not yet made a post of gain and worldly lucre. After this sort, Kennethus reigned twenty years. In the beginning of the fifth year he overthrew the Picts, as the Black Book of Paisley hath it. The other sixteen years, after he had destroyed the government of the Picts, he lived in great tranquillity, having maintained peace at home, by reason of his just government, and peace abroad, by the power of his arms. He enlarged his dominions from the Orcades to the wall Adrian. A. C. 854.

DONALDUS V. the Seventieth King.

Donaldus, his brother, was chosen king next, who quite altered the whole public discipline, together with his own demeanour. For whereas, in the lifetime of Alpinus, he made a shew of temperance, and, by that means, had obtained the love of the better sort; when his brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all fear and restraint, he gave himself up wholly to pleasure. And, as if there had been no danger from any enemy without, he neglected all military study, and kept almost none about him but hunters, hawkers, and inventors of new pleasures. Upon these he spent the public revenue. The younger sort, who were prone to pleasures, extolled the king to the skies, as a noble and generous prince, and scoffed at the parsimony of former times, as rude and illiberal. The ancient counsellors, seeing all things likely to run to ruin in a very short time, came to the king, and put him in mind of his duty, of his present evil ways and mis-carriages, and of the dangers impending upon him. He nevertheless persisted in his slothful kind of life, which gave opportunity to the remainder of the Picts (as if an hopeful alarm had been given them, even from the very bottom of despair), to address themselves to Osbreth and Ella, two of the most potent and prevalent kings of the English, for then

England was divided into many kingdoms. They bewailed their misfortune to them, and craved earnestly their assistance; promising, that they and all their posterity would become feudatories to the English, in case they obtained the victory over the Scots, which they prejudged would be an easy one, by reason of the slothful nature of Donald. The English were easily persuaded, and having settled things at home, they led out their army into March, from whence they sent heralds to Donaldus, requiring, that the lands which the Scots had forcibly taken away from the Picts, their friends and allies, might be restored; which, unless he would do, they would not neglect their old confederates, who had newly solicited their assistance. Donaldus, by the advice of the estates, which, in this time of imminent danger, he had, though unwillingly, convened, levied an army, and met with the enemy at Jedd, a river of Teviotdale, where he joined battle, and overthrew Osbreth, forcing him to fly to the next mountains; from thence he marched on by Tweed to the sea-side, recovered Berwick, which had been taken by the English, and was again deserted by them, upon the ill news of the success of the battle; where he took all the ships riding in the mouth of the river, and seized upon all the enemy's provisions there. He got there an opportunity to renew his interrupted pleasures; and, as if his enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himself in all kinds of voluptuousness. The English, who in the last fight were rather scattered than subdued, understanding by their spies the carelessness and security of the Scots, gathered together what force they could out of the neighbourhood, and set upon the Scots by night, who were drowned in wine, and fast asleep, making a great slaughter amongst them; but they took the king, who was between sleeping and waking, prisoner. From thence they followed the course of their victory; and to make their re-

venge more complete, they divided their army into two parts, and so marched into the enemy's country. Part of them, when they came to the Forth, got vessels, and endeavoured to pass over into Fife; but a great number of them were shipwrecked, and drowned, and the rest, by the violence of the storm, were forced back to the shore where they embarked; from whence, marching to Stirling, and, joining with the rest of their army, they passed over the Forth, on a bridge. The Scots, after their flight, gathered themselves into a body thereabouts, having the bare shew rather than the strength of an army, and sent ambassadors to the English for peace; which they did not refuse, because their strength was weakened by the unsuccessful battle of Jedd, and also by the late shipwreck. The English propounded hard conditions, yet such as the present state of affairs made to seem tolerable; as, that the Scots should yield up all the land which was within the wall of Severus; that their bounds should be beyond Stirling, on the Forth; beyond Dunbarton, on the Clyde; and between the two rivers, the wall of Severus. Amidst such hard terms of peace, yet this happened as welcome as it was unexpected to the Scots, that no mention was made concerning the reduction of the Picts; for the English and Britons divided the lands, surrendered up, betwixt them, the river being a boundary betwixt them both. There are some who think the money yet called Sterling was then coined there. The lands being thus divided, the Picts, who thought to recover their own, being eluded of their hopes, passed over to the Cimbrians and Scandians, *i. e.* to Denmark and Norway. Those few of them that staid in England, were all put to death, upon pretence that they would attempt innovations by their soliciting of foreign aids. Donaldus, after he had made peace, upon his return was honourably received, partly out of respect to his ancestors, and

partly in hopes of his repentance and amendment. But he, persevering in his wonted slothfulness, the nobles fearing that so sluggish a person, who would neither hearken to the counsels of his friends, nor be reclaimed by his own calamities, would lose that part of the kingdom which remained, confined him to a prison; where, either out of grief and anguish of heart, as having his pleasure restrained, or out of fear of being made a public spectacle of scorn, he laid violent hands on himself, in the sixth year of his reign. Others report, that this Donaldus performed many noble exploits, both at home and abroad; and that he died a natural death at Scone, in the year of our Lord 858.

CONSTANTINE II. *the Seventy-first King.*

Constantine II. the son of Kennethus, was crowned after him, at Scone. He was a prince of a great spirit, and highly valiant. He was desirous to wipe away the ignominy received under Donaldus, and to enlarge his kingdom to the bounds his father had left; but he was otherwise advised by his nobles, because the greatest part of the soldiery were slain under Donaldus; and the remainder were grown so corrupt, that it was not fit to put arms into their hands. This being so, the king first bent his care to amend the public discipline; and accordingly he reduced the order of priests to their ancient parsimony, by severe laws, in regard they had left off preaching, and had given themselves up to luxury, hunting, hawking, and to courtly pomp. He caused the young soldiers who were grown effeminate with voluptuousness and ease, to lie on the ground, and to eat but once a day. Drunkards he punished with death. He forbade all sports, but those which served to make the body hardy, and inure the mind to war. By these laws, the soldiery of the kingdom were brought to a better pass; when pre-

sently a certain islander, named Evenus, whom the king himself had made governor of Lochaber, a man of an unquiet spirit, and ambitious of dominion, rose up in arms. He, knowing that the military youth could not well stomach the severity of these new laws, first gathered a small number, and then a greater, complaining of the present state of things. And when he found his discourse was acceptable to them, he easily persuaded them to conspire about the taking off of Constantine. But being more active than cautious in gathering strength to their faction, they were betrayed by some of their own confederates, and slain, before they knew any forces were coming against them. Evenus, the head of the conspiracy, was hanged. About this time it was, that the Danes, then the most potent and flourishing nation amongst the Germans, were solicited by the Picts against the Scots, and also by one Bubernus, (or, as others write, Verna, whose wife had been ravished by Osbreth), which they, being overstocked with young people at home, easily assented to; and so they came over in numerous transports, and with a great navy, into Britain. Their first descent was in Fife; there they slew all they met, without distinction, out of hatred to the Christian religion; and dividing their army, they spoiled the country two several ways. Constantine made head against them; and first he set upon that brigade which Hubba, brother to the Danish king, commanded; which being hindered from joining the other body of troops by the sudden swelling of the river Leven, were there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his men who could swim over the river, and they fled to the other commander, called Humber. Constantine pursued them, and marched as if he went to a prey, not to a battle, and overtook them not far from the town of Crail, but not before they had well fortified their camp. For the Danes, being very provident after their late

unhappy fight, had made a kind of defensive fortification, upon some small winding rocks near the shore, by heaping up a parcel of stones together which lay thereabouts. In that posture Constantine assaulted them; where, by reason of the incommodiousness of the place, and the despair of the Danes, he paid dear for his rashness, for he lost a great part of his army; he himself was taken prisoner, carried into a little cave hard by, and there slain. There are some monuments of this fight remaining to this day, as the cave, the circumference of their camp, which was not cut out regularly, or by equal spaces, but turning and winding according to the bending of the rocks. Some lay the blame of this unlucky accident upon the Picts, who, being admitted into Constantine's fealty and army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest part of the army after them. The Danes gathered up the spoils, and departed to their ships. The king's body was found the day after, and carried to the sepulchres of his ancestors in the island of Icolmkill. He possessed the kingdom sixteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 874.

ETHUS, the Seventy-second King.

His brother, Ethus, succeeded him; from the swiftness of his feet, surnamed Alipes. He was elected king upon no other nor higher account, but because he gathered together the relics of the army, which were scattered by the Danes. Amongst the prodigies of his time, they reckon those sea-fishes then appearing, which are seldom seen, and after long intervals of time, but they never appear but in shoals, nor without some unlucky presage. The common people call them *monachi marini*, i. e. sea-monks; others give them the name of *bassineti*, i. e. hooded or helmeted fish. Ethus, quite unmindful both of his brother and of his ancestors, giving him-

self up to all manner of vices, and drawing the young soldiers, who were by nature very easily seduced, along with him, was taken prisoner by a combination of the nobles; and after all the flagitious acts of his life had been declared to the people, in a long speech, he was forced to abjure the government in the second year of his reign. Three days after he died in prison for grief. That which chiefly offended the men of military genius, was his slothful inactivity, because, when the Danes were at war with the English, and many bloody battles had been fought between them, yet he never bethought himself of the recovering the country he had lost; nor would he suffer himself to be so much as put in mind of it by others. Some write, that he was not forced to relinquish his kingdom, but that he was wounded in a combat by Gregorius, who was desirous of getting the reins of the empire into his own hands, and that he died two months after, *anno Christi 875*.

GREGORIUS, the *Seventy-third King*.

Gregorius, the son of Dongallus, was set up king in his stead; a person of a truly royal spirit, in whom no virtue was wanting, that was requisite to complete a monarch. First, he reconciled all those to him, who were against him when he endeavoured to gain the throne; and then he proceeded to compose the discords of the nobles among themselves; he so tempered the severities of his government with affability, that he got the command of his subjects more by love, than by fear. He restored the old laws concerning the immunity of the ministers of the church, who were almost in the nature of slaves, under the Picts, or else he made new ones to the same purpose. His first expedition was into Fife against the Picts, left there by the Danes, whilst they were employing their arms against the

English. He drove them not out of Fife only, but out of Lothian and March too. The Danes, when he came to Berwick, fearing, if they should have any misfortune, the English would be upon their backs too, durst not join in a field-fight with Gregory; but sent part of their forces over the river into Northumberland, commanding them to join with a small brigade of their countrymen, who had gathered together, and were newly landed there; the rest of them entered Berwick to strengthen that garrison. But the English, who were, but unwillingly, under the command of the Danes, (as being men of a different religion from them), gave admission to the Scots in the night-time; by which means all the Danes were put to the sword. From thence Gregory marched into Northumberland, and fought a prosperous battle against Hardnute, where he made so great a slaughter of them, that their numbers, which were lately formidable to all Britain, were mightily diminished, partly by Gregory of Scotland, and partly by Alfred of England. Gregory took in all Northumberland, and gave free leave to those English that had a mind, to depart; and he very courteously distributed lands among the rest, who chose to remain there. The greater part of the English staid behind; partly out of love to their native soil, partly by reason of the king's bounty to them, and partly also for fear of their enemies. For, as they had, for several years then past, entered into several cruel engagements with the Danes, the victory being many times uncertain, many of the English chose rather to be under the dominion of the Scots, who, though formerly enemies, were yet Christians, than either to fall into the power of the bloody Danes, or to hope for uncertain aids from their own countrymen; especially since things were in such a general confusion over all Britain, that the English knew not which party to succour first. After Gregory had chastised the

Danes, to so smart a degree, that he expected no more trouble from them, he turned his arms upon the Britons, who as yet held some of the Scottish dominions; but he made peace with them too, upon their restoring the said lands, and promising to assist him against the Danes, if they should return; and upon that he disbanded his army. But the Britons, after their return home, repented of the peace they had made; and entering Scotland again in an hostile manner, they were driving away a great booty; but Gregory met them at Lochmaben, and after a bloody fight overthrew them, and Constantine their king fell in the field. The Britons, having received this fruit of their ill counsel, made Herbert, the brother of Constantine, king; and then began to think in what a dangerous state they were, having both the Scots and Danes their enemies; and their alliance with the English seldom long-lived. Upon this consideration they sent ambassadors to the Scots for peace, who would not hearken to any such thing, unless Cumberland and Westmoreland were restored to them; which was accordingly done, and the peace made on those conditions. About the same time, there came also ambassadors from Alured of England, partly to congratulate the victory over the Danes, which ought (said they) to be justly acceptable to all Christians; and partly to enter into a new league against all the enemies of the Christian faith. Peace was concluded on these conditions: "That they should oppose foreign enemies with their joint forces, if they made a descent on the borders of either people; and that the Scots should quietly enjoy for ever the land which they had got from the Danes." Peace being thus obtained by arms on every side, and a league made and established, word was brought Gregory upon his return, that the Irish had made an irruption into Galloway. The cause of the war was pretended to

be, because the men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, seized upon, and plundered some galleys driven on their coasts, belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, a city of Ireland. The Irish, hearing of Gregory's coming, in great consternation retired presently with their prey to their ships; and Gregory, with a good navy, and strong army, as soon as he could with conveniency, transported himself into Ireland also: Duncan, or Donatus, or Donachus, was at that time their king; but being under age, Brienus and Cornelius, two of the most powerful of the nobility next to him, had divided the whole land into two factions. But patching up a truce at the arrival of a foreign enemy, they pitched and fortified their camps apart, near the river Bann, a place which seemed convenient enough for that purpose. Their end in so doing was, to take off the edge of Gregory's valour by delay, and to force him to withdraw his army from a foreign harassed country, for want of provision. Gregory smelled out their design, and therefore very secretly, in the night, he sent part of his army to seize upon an hill, which was, as it were, over Brienus's head. The day after, when the battle was joined, in the heat of the fight, they threw down mighty stones into his camp, which crushed many of his men to pieces; and so terrified the rest, that their ranks were broken; and they fled away in great disorder and confusion. Cornelius, hearing of the event of this fight, withdrew his army, without striking a blow, into places of greater safety. Brienus was slain in his camp; the rest had as much quarter given them as possible, by Gregory's command. He then marched over the country without any depopulation at all; which lenity occasioned many rather to submit themselves to the mercy of the king, than to try it out by force. The fortified towns were strengthened with garrisons. Gregory reduced Dundalk and Drogheda, two strong

places, made so both by art and nature; and then determined to march directly to Dublin. But hearing that Cornelius, general of all the Irish forces, was coming against him with a great army, he turned aside, fought with him, and overthrew him, following the chase as far as Dublin, which he besieged. But there was not provision enough in the city for so many people as had fled thither; so that in a short time it was surrendered to him by Cormachus, the bishop of the city. Gregory, at his entrance into it, did no prejudice at all to any of the inhabitants; but visited king Duncan, his kinsman, and protested that he came not thither out of an ambitious desire to take away the kingdom from him, or to amass up riches for himself, but only to revenge the injuries he had received. Accordingly he committed the care of the young king to such of his old counsellors as he judged most faithful to him; and himself bore the name of his tutor or guardian, till he came to be of age: he also put garrisons into the forts, and exacted an oath from the nobility, that they should admit neither English, Dane, nor Briton into the island, without his permission: he appointed judges in convenient places, who were to judge betwixt man and man in matters of controversy, according to the laws of the country; and receiving sixty hostages for the performance of those conditions, he returned home in triumph. The fame of his justice made the peace firmer for the future, than any terror of arms could have done. Having thus managed matters both at home and abroad, he departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign, being no less eminent for his justice and temperance, than for his valour and magnanimity. So that he was justly surnamed, by his countrymen, Gregory the Great. He died *anno Christi* 892.

DONALDUS VI. *the Seventy-fourth King*

Donald, the Sixth of that name, the son of Constantine II. was made king next after Gregory, having been recommended by his great predecessor, before his death, to the nobility. He deceived not the opinion which men had conceived of him, *i. e.* that he was a very prudent prince; for he so maintained peace, as to be always prepared for war. And when for a long time he had no enemy to encounter with, yet he took care that the soldiery should not grow too luxurious, or, by being corrupted by ease and rest, grow inclinable to run, as it had often happened, into all manner of evil practices. When a new army of Danes drew near to the coasts of Northumberland, and lay at anchor there for some days, without prejudicing any body, Donaldus gathered an army together, and being watchful of all opportunities, went to guard that province. But hearing that the Danes had made a descent upon the country of the English, he sent aid to king Alured, who fought a bloody battle with the Danes. Yet, though he got the victory, he was content to admit them into part of his dominions, provided they would turn Christians. Peace was made on those terms, the army disbanded, and a new home-bred commotion entertained Donaldus at his return. There happened so great a feud betwixt the Rossians and the March men, caused by some small robberies at first, that more were slain by occasional combats, than if they had met in a pitched battle. Donald marched thither, and having slain the heads of the factions, restored peace to the rest. Johannes Fordonus, a Scottish chronologer, says, that in this expedition he died at Forres, not without the suspicion of poison; but Boetius affirms, that he returned to Northumberland, to see what became of the peace he had made with the Danes, of whom he was always

suspicious; and that he died there, after he had reigned eleven years. His memory was precious both to rich and poor. His death was A. C. 903.

CONSTANTINE III. *the Seventy-fifth King.*

Constantine III. the son of Ethus, was substituted king in his room; a man of no ill disposition, yet could not be truly said to be firmly and constantly good. The Danes, who could, by no promises, by no persuasions whatsoever, incline Gregory and Donald, the two last kings of the Scots, to take up arms against the English, who were then Christians, easily wrought upon Constantine by gifts, and by the vain hope of enlarging his dominions, to make a league with them, which lasted scarce two years; but the Danes, deserting the Scots, struck up a league with the English. This league had scarce continued four years, before Edward of England gathered an army speedily together, and spoiled the country of the Danes; by which they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced to return to the Scots, whom they had lately deserted: to whom they swore most religiously, that they would for ever after observe the amity most inviolably betwixt them. This second league is reported to have been entered into, with great ceremony, in the tenth year of Constantine's reign. He gave, the same year, Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the last king, which was an honourable omen to him, that the next reign should be his own. And afterwards the same custom was observed, by some succeeding kings, to the manifest disannulling of the old way of convening the estates, whose free suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the designation of the consuls by the Cæsars, which put an end to the Roman liberty. A war being now commenced between Edward the son of Alured, and the Danes; Constantine sent aids to the Danes, under the con-

duct of Malcolm. He joined his army with the Danes, and being superior in number, they harassed the adjoining countries of the English, and made great devastation wheresoever they came to the end that they might force the English, who had a far less numerous army, to fight: Nay, they were so arrogantly confident of their numbers, that they thought their enemy would never so much as look them in the face; so that now, as secure of the victory, they began to talk of dividing the spoil. But, 'as prosperity doth blind the eyes of the wise; so adversity, and the foresight of danger, is a good schoolmaster, even to the weaker side;' what the English wanted in strength, they supplied with art, skill, and stratagem. Their army was well seconded with reserves, and so they began the fight; the first ranks being commanded so to do, gave ground, and, under the pretence of being discomfited, made a feint as if they were flying, that so, their enemies pursuing them in disorder, they might again return upon them in that straggling posture. Athelstan, the base-born son of Edward, was general of all the English forces, as our writers affirm; and Grafton also says the same thing. They make this Athelstan guilty of parricide, in killing his father, and his two brothers Edred and Edwin, whose right it was immediately to succeed their father in the kingdom: fame increases the suspicion, that Edward was violently put to death, because it attributes to him the title of a martyr. For that fact Athelstan being hated, to recover the favour of the people, he resolved upon some eminent enterprise; and accordingly determined at last to expiate the blood of his kindred, by shedding that of his enemies. In pursuance of this resolution, when he had fought stoutly for a time, he gave ground by little and little; but afterward retreated with more precipitation, and in greater fear and confusion, as if he intended absolutely to run away. The Danes and Scots, suppos-

ing themselves conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk pursuit, lest the cowardliest of the soldiers should enjoy all the booty, and therefore they returned to plunder the camp. Upon that Athelstan gave a signal; and the English returning to their colours, set upon them as they were scattered and laden with spoil, and killed them like dogs. The greatest part of the Scottish nobility was lost in this fight, who chose rather to die on the spot, than to undergo the ignominy of deserting their companions of the war. Malcolm being much wounded, was carried off the field by his own men, and sent the doleful tidings of the loss of his army to king Constantine; neither was the face of things more pleasant amongst the Danes. Athelstan, during this astonishment of his enemies, took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes. Constantine, having not force enough either to wage war, or to carry on matters in peace, called a convention of the estates at Abernethy, and willingly resigned the kingdom, and betook himself to the Culdee, worshippers of God, (for so the monks of that age were called), as to a sanctuary, amongst whom he spent the remaining five years of his life at St Andrew's. He died in the year 943, and the fortieth year from the beginning of his reign. Here the English writers, who are profuse in their own praises, do affirm, that Athelstan was the sole monarch of all Britain, and that the rest, who had the names of kings in Albion, were but precariously so, and his feudatories only, as taking an oath of fidelity to him, as the supreme lord. And they introduce many ignoble English authors as favourers of that opinion; and to procure them a greater credit, they add also Marianus Scotus, who was indeed an illustrious writer. But here I desire the reader to take notice, that there is not the least mention of any such thing in that edition of Marianus which was printed in Germany; but if

they have another Marianus, different from him who is publicly read, and interpolated or forged by themselves, let them produce him if they can. Besides, they being men generally unlearned, do not in some places sufficiently understand their own writers; neither do they take notice, that Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, do commonly call that part Britain over which the Britons ruled; *i. e.* that within the wall of Adrian; or, when they stretched their dominions farthest, within the wall of Severus; so that the Scots and Picts are oftentimes reckoned by them to be out of Britain, and are accounted as transmarine people. And therefore, when they read, that the English sometime reigned over all Britain, they understand the authors so, as if they included Albion or Albion; whereas they do often circumscribe Britain within narrower limits, as I have said before; but of this I have spoken more largely in another place. To return then to the affairs of Scotland.

MALCOLM I. *the Seventy-sixth King.*

Constantine having retired himself into the cloister of the monks, Malcolm, the son of Donald, was declared king. Athelstan being dead, and his brother Edmund reigning, Cumberland and Westmoreland revolted from the English, and returned to their old masters. Moreover the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, sent for Ayalassus, their countryman, of the royal progeny, who was banished into Ireland, to make him king. Edmund, foreseeing what clouds of war were gathering over his head, yielded up Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, upon this condition, that he who should next succeed in the Scottish kingdom, should take an oath to the king of England, as the lord paramount of that country. Afterwards he easily reduced the Danes, who had been afflicted with various calamities.

ties; neither did he long survive his victory. The English chose his brother Edred king after him; against whom the Danes, who possessed Northumberland, and never cordially observed any peace made with the English, rebelled; and whilst he was incumbered with other affairs at a distance, they took from him many strong and well-fortified places, particularly York; but he overcame them by the assistance of 10,000 Scots. Malcolm, returning home, gave himself wholly up to the arts of peace; and, to cure the distempers occasioned by the wars, especially luxury and lawless living, he himself usually visited all the Scots courts of judicature once in two years, and administered justice with great equity. At length, whilst he was busy in punishing robbers, and in restraining the lewd manners of the younger sort, he was slain by some conspirators of Murray-land, in the night, in the fifteenth year of his reign. The perpetrators of that villany were, with great diligence, sought after, and found out by the nobles; and, being apprehended, were put to several exquisite deaths, according to every one's share of guilt, in committing the parricide.

INDULFUS, the Seventy-seventh King.

Indulfus reigned after him, who, having settled things in peace at home, passed the next seven years in great tranquillity; but in the eighth year of his reign, the Danes, taking it amiss that the alliance with the English was preferred before theirs, and that a perpetual league was made between the two kings against them, came with a navy of 50 ships into the frith of Forth, when the Scots little expected any such thing; insomuch, that they had like to have given them an universal overthrow by way of surprise. In such a sudden invasion all were full of fear and amazement; some carried their goods into the midland country, as a place of more safety;

others ran to the sea-side, to hinder the enemy's landing. Hago and Helricds were the two admirals of the Danish fleet: they endeavoured first to land in Lothian, and afterwards in Fife, but in vain; they then essayed to enter the frith of the river Tay, but there also they were hindered from making any descent on the land; so that they coasted about the shores of Aeneia or Angus, of Mearn, Marr, and Buchan; but in all places being prevented from landing, they hoisted their sails, and went into the main ocean, as if they intended to return home. But within a few days, when all was secure, they came back again, and having gotten a convenient place in Boyn, at the mouth of the river Cullen, they there landed their men without opposition, before the country-people could give any alarm of their arrival. When Indulfus heard of their landing, he marched towards them before they could well have any notice of his coming; and first he set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them to the rest of their army, but made no great slaughter of them, because the camp of the Danes was near, to which they might make their retreat. When the armies came in sight of each other, they both drew up in battle-array, and fell to it with equal force and courage. Whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, Græme and Dunbar, with some troops of Lothian-men, appeared on the rear of the Danes; which put them in such a consternation, that they all ran away, some to their ships, others to unknown places, whithersoever the fear of the enemy drove them; but the greater part of them drew up in a round close body, in a woody vale, and there waited an occasion of acting with valour, or dying with the last resolution. Indulfus, as if his enemies had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few attendants, and casually lighting into their hands, was slain, at the beginning of the tenth year of his reign. Some say, that he was killed by an arrow

shot out of a ship, having put off his armour, that he might be more nimble in the pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon them, as they were going on shipboard.

DUFFUS, the Seventy-eighth King.

After his death, Duffus, the son of Malcolm, obtained the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he made Culenus, son of king Indulfus, governor of Cumberland, and sent him into the Ebudæ, which were then in war and disorder, to restrain the frequent robberies committed there. For the young soldiers of the nobility, having got a great many companions about them, made the common people tributary to them, imposing a pecuniary mulct on every family, besides free quarter; and yet Culenus dealt not more harshly with them, than with the very governors themselves of the island, who ought to have restrained such outrages. He commanded, that, for the future, they, by whose negligence these disorders should happen, should make satisfaction to the commonalty, and also pay a fine to the king. This injunction struck such a terror into these idle paltry fellows, that many of them went over into Ireland, and there got their living by their daily labour. As this matter was acceptable to the commons, so it was as offensive to the noble allies of those who were banished, and to many of the younger sort, who were in love with that idle kind of life. These men, in all their meetings and assemblies, did first secretly, and afterwards in the presence of a multitude of such as applauded them, begin openly to revile their king; alleging, that he despised the nobility, and was drawn away and seduced by the counsel of haughty priests: that he degraded and put men of genteel extraction to servile offices: that he advanced the most abject of the people to the highest honours:

that, in fine, he made such medleys, as to turn every thing upside down. They added farther, that if things should continue at that pass, either the nobility must transport themselves into other countries, or else must make them a new king, who might govern the people by those ancient laws; by which the kingdom had arrived to the height of grandeur from such a small beginning. Amidst these confusions, the king was seized with a new and unusual disease; and no evident cause of it appearing, when all remedies had been tried in vain, a rumour was spread abroad, by I know not whom, that he was bewitched. The suspicion of this witchcraft arose either from some indications of his disease, or else because his body wasted and pined away by continual sweating; and his strength was so much decayed, that the physicians, who were sent for far and near, not knowing what to apply for his relief, when no common causes of the disease discovered themselves, they even laid it to the charge of a secret one. And whilst all were intent on the king's malady, at last news was brought, that nightly assemblies and conspiracies were made against him at Forres, a town in Murray. The report was taken for truth, there being nothing to contradict it; therefore some faithful messengers were sent to Donald, governor of the castle, in whom the king confided much, even in his greatest affairs, to find out the truth of the matter. He, from a discovery made by a certain harlot, whose mother was noted for a witch, detected the whole conspiracy. For the young girl having blabbed out, a few days before, some words concerning the sickness and death of the king; being apprehended, and brought to the rack to be tortured, at the very sight of it she presently declared what was designed against the life of the king. Upon this some soldiers were sent, who found the girl's mother, and some other gossips, roasting the king's picture, made

in wax, by a soft fire : Their design was, that as the wax did leisurely melt, so the king, being dissolved into a sweat, should pine away by degrees; and when the wax was quite consumed, then, his breath failing him, he should presently die. When this picture of wax was broken, and the witches punished, in the same month, (as some say,) the king was freed from his disease. These things I deliver as I have heard them from our ancestors; what to think of this sort of witchcraft, I leave to the judgment of the reader; only minding him, that this story was not found amongst our ancient records. Amidst these things, the fear of the king being laid aside, because they hoped he would shortly die, many robberies and murders were committed every where. Duffus, having recovered his strength, pursued the robbers through Murray, Ross, and Caithness, and killed many of them at several skirmishes, as occasion would permit; but he brought the chief of them to Forres, that their punishment might be the more conspicuous in that town. There Donaldus, governor of the town and castle, petitioned the king to pardon some of his relations, who were of the gang; but, being denied, he fell into a mighty indignation, as if he had been highly wronged: his whole mind was taken up with the thought of revenge; for he judged that his services done to the king were so great, that he ought, let him have asked what he would, not to be denied; and besides, the wife of Donald, finding that some of her kindred too were like to suffer, did further inflame the already disaffected heart of her husband, by artful and bitter expressions; moreover, exciting him to contrive the king's death, affirming, that since he was governor of the castle, the king's life and death were in his power; and, having that power, he might not only perpetrate the fact, but conceal it, after it was committed. Accordingly, when the king, fatigued and wearied out with business, was

sounder asleep than ordinary, and his attendants, made drunk by Donald, were laid fast in a dead sleep also; he sent in assassins, of which no soul was aware; and after they had murdered the king, they carried him out so cunningly a back way, that not so much as a drop of blood appeared, and so he was buried two miles from the abbey of Kinloss, under a little bridge, in a blind place, having the green turf laid over him, so that there might be no sign of any ground which was digged up. This seems a more likely story to me, than what others write, that the course of the river being turned, his body was cast into a hole at bottom; but when the waters were returned again to their own channel, then his grave, such as it was, was covered. Besides, the executioners of that bloody fact were sent out of the way by Donald, because there is an opinion, received from our ancestors, which as yet obtains amongst the vulgar, "That blood will issue from a dead body many days after the party's being murdered, if the murderer be present, just as if the fact had been but newly committed." The day after, when the report was spread abroad that the king was missing, and that his bed was all sprinkled over with blood, Donald, as if he had been surprised at the atrocity of the fact, flies into the king's bedchamber, and, as if he had been mad with anger and revenge, he slew the officers appointed to attend him; after that, he presently made diligent inquiry every where, if any discovery of the dead body could be made. The rest being amazed at the heinous villainy, and afraid too of their own lives, returned everyone to his own house. Thus this good king was most inhumanly and impiously murdered in the flower of his age, after he had reigned four years and six months; and, as soon as they conveniently could, the estates assembled to create a new king.

CULENUS, the Seventy-ninth King.

Culenius, the son of Indulfus, being made king by the assembly of the estates, the next thing that was done, was to inquire into the murder of king Duffus; and they made the more haste to examine that affair, because of some prodigies that had happened, one of which seemed particularly to regard the murder. An hawk was slain, trussed by an owl, and his throat cut by him. The other prodigy was also referred to the same thing, by the interpretation of the vulgar. For six whole months after the murder was committed, extraordinary fires appeared in the element: the air was agitated with extraordinary winds; nay, the heavens were so coloured and defaced with clouds, that neither sun nor moon could be seen in Scotland all that time. This made all mankind intent upon revenging the death of the good king; and to that purpose, Culenius went into Murray, hoping to find some surer discoveries of the murder upon the spot where it was committed. Donald, hearing of his coming, and conscious to himself of his nefarious cruelty and parricide, of which also his over-curious and seemingly wild inquisitiveness, made in search after the authors thereof, rendered him still more suspected, procured a ship at the mouth of the river Spey; where, with some others, he embarked himself, unknown even to his wife and children. This he did out of fear, lest the truth should have been extorted from him by the rack. His hasty flight, his dejected countenance, (as it was observed,) his few attendants, his trembling at his entrance into the ship, which was but casually riding there, without any preparation for his voyage, raised so great a suspicion of him in the minds of all who were present, that they forebore not to vent all manner of contumelies against him, calling him an impious, sacrilegious

fellow, and a parricide, and whatever black terms of reproach their inflamed anger could suggest. They added also, that though he had prevented the coming of the king, yet he could never avoid the vindictive providence, and the avenging judgment of Almighty God. In a word, they pursued him with all the execrations which the highest indignation could excite in minds thoroughly provoked, even till the ship was quite out of sight. When Culenus heard of his hasty flight, he marched to the castle of Forres with all speed, where he apprehended the wife of Donaldus, and his three children; and by shewing them the rack, compelled them to discover the whole series of the conspiracy; as also how, by whom, and where the body was buried; and that she herself was not only privy to the murder, nor merely accessory to it, but the person who persuaded her husband to the bloody deed. When the people heard this, (for she was publicly tried,) the magistrates could hardly keep them from tearing her to pieces. The day after, Donaldus, having been tossed some days at sea, was shipwrecked and cast ashore, and being brought to the king, he, and all his, underwent the punishments they so richly deserved. They who brought him to the king were liberally rewarded; his castle was burnt, and all that were in it were killed upon the spot. The body of Duffus was honourably interred amongst his ancestors. As these things very highly ingratiated Culenus to those who were good, so the remaining part of his life accumulated so much odium upon him, as never any king before him ever laboured under; for, whether induced by his own nature, or urged for fear of danger, (as he would have it thought,) he suffered the severity of the discipline used under Indulfus and Duffus, to grow cold and remiss; and permitted the younger tribe, being given up to unseasonable debauchery and foreign delights, to run into those licentious practices which

were forbid by the laws, till at last they broke forth into open violence and robbery. And when he saw the greatest part of the young nobility addicted to these vices, he plunged himself in the like wicked courses; so that he abstained not from corrupting noble matrons, and even debauching religious nuns, (which in that age, on the account of their special care to preserve their chastity, were had in great veneration,) no, nor from his own sisters or daughters neither; nay, he kept whole coveys of other harlots, hired by his panders, and kept them too in his own court, and turned his palace into stews. When he was admonished and put in mind of these things, by persons of prudence and wisdom; on the behalf of the young nobility, he answered, that something was to be allowed to their age; and as for himself, though he confessed that some things were amiss, yet he was forced out of fear to tolerate them; for I remember, said he, what great calamity the unseasonable severity of the former king brought, not only on himself, but on the whole kingdom; that the nobility were the stay and prop of the throne; that it was not true, that the martial spirits of men were always broken by this free kind of life, or made low and abject; nor that the thoughts of arms were so neglected by them in peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a return of war. It is true, proceeded he, the luxury of youthful age is so far to be restrained, that it may not proceed too far, for fear the good seed of ingenuity be choked as it were in the very bud, and lost in too much licentiousness; yet it is not wholly to be abridged, or taken away, lest the seeds of virtue should suffer in common with the vices, and be both plucked up together. When the nobles heard this plea, which he urged in his own defence, and perceived they could do no good with him, by their persuasions; but that they should more probably create trouble to themselves, if they used the same

liberty of speech to him in their rejoinders, they withdrew from court, fearing lest they should be compelled to be witnesses; nay, and not only that, but even partakers of these facinorous practices, the very sight and hearing of which they detested and abhorred. The king, freed from such troublesome advisers, gave himself wholly up to wine and women. He proposed rewards to those who could invent any new kind of pleasure, though ever so filthy, ever so detestable; his whole court rung all the night, and all the day, with the lewd songs of debauchees, and the huzzas of drunkards. This intemperance and impudence were as much applauded by him, as modesty and chastity are wont to be esteemed by good and pious princes. Those vices which, though allowed or connived at by the law in other men, are, notwithstanding the impunity, acted by them in secret, were here openly committed without shame. The young nobility, thus grown effeminate with pleasure, and a multitude of parasites and flatterers with them, extol the king to the skies, as if he were the very first of their kings, who had joined splendour and magnificence with authority; as tempering the severity of his government with lenity, and easing the burdens of care and labour with some relaxation of spirits, and allowance of delight.

Now, to continue these luxuriant courses, there was need of great expense; and, therefore, the wealthier sort were fined upon feigned accusations; and the plebeians were suffered to be made a perfect prey, and harassed with all sorts of servile offices. He that was not pleased with the present state of things, was accounted no better than a rustic clown, or a mere savage; or, if he seemed to be of an higher spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused by a pack of informers, as if he studied innovation in the state. After three years spent in this flagitious licence—when men were silent, out of

fear or sloth, luxury began to grow its own punishment; for when the king's strength was exhausted by immoderate venereal lust, and his body had contracted deformity by the excesses of riotous luxurious feasts, those diseases followed which are the usual and almost the constant companions of such vices; so that there only remained a rotten carcase, fit for nothing but to bear the punishment of its former mis-spent time. The king thus disabled for all the duties and functions of life, the strength both of his body and mind being enervated and weakened by intemperance; and his courtiers also following the same practices; some audacious fellows, being encouraged by hopes of prey and impunity, committed public robberies and murders, regarding neither the plebeians, as being men of poor servile spirits; nor the courtiers, as persons enfeebled by all kinds of debauchery.

The sounder of the nobility, finding themselves surrounded with these manifold mischiefs, and now at the very brink of destruction, called an assembly of the estates at Scone. The king also was desired to be present, that he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous juncture of affairs, for the public safety. He, inwardly struck at this summons, and awakened, as it were, from his drowsy sloth, began to advise with his confederates, what a man, in such straits, had best to do. And though he knew not either how to resist, or how to fly, and his mind presaged no good to him; yet he resolved to go to the assembly. And, as miserable men are wont to flatter themselves in adversity, so he did not altogether despair, that he, either out of pity, or out of respect to his father's memory, should procure some favour, and not be suddenly hurled down from so high a dignity, to the lowest abyss of misery and wretchedness. In his journey to Scone, having a train large enough, but unarmed and dispirited, about him, he was slain at a neigh-

bouring village called Methven, by the thane or sheriff of that country, for having ravished his daughter. When his death came to be publicly known, though all men were heartily pleased at being got free from such a monster, with less trouble than they supposed they should, yet the perpetration of the fact by Rohardus, or Radardus, the thane, was very much disliked by all people. He reigned, as the former king did, four years and six months.

KENNETHUS III. *the Eightieth King.*

Kennethus, the brother of Duffus, and third of that name, succeeded Culenus. He, being contrary to the foregoing king in his disposition, manners, and the whole course of his life, used as much diligence in reforming the lives of the younger sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; though in this his task was the greater, that men are carried down headlong into vice, with a great propensity of mind; but the way to virtue is by a steep ascent. And indeed this was the thing that gave the chief occasion to the opinions of some philosophers, who contended that man was naturally made to enjoy pleasure, but that he was drawn to virtue, as it were, violently, and against his own inclination. I grant both parts of this assertion as false; but perhaps the origin of the mistake was from hence, that seeing there is a double power of nature in man, one of his body, the other of his mind, the vigour of the body seems to exert itself sooner and quicker than that of the mind; and, as plants do first send forth stalks, leaves, and flowers, pleasant to behold, before the seed begins to be formed in its proper pod and receptacle; but when the seed ripens, all those other things fade away, and at last quite wither and decay; so do our bodies grow youthful betimes, and before the virtue of our mind

(which is then but weak and tender) can exert its force; but as the members grow old by degrees, so the strength of the mind and of the judgment expands and discloses itself more and more; and therefore, as in corn, we restrain the luxuriant growth of it, either by causing it to be eaten up, or by cutting its over-rank blade down; so in young men the law supposes, that the forwardness of wit, which over-hastens to shew itself, should be restrained by careful culture, until growing reason may be able, of itself, to repress the violence of the yet infirm body. But to return to Kennethus:

He, well knowing that the commonalty do usually comply with the humour of the prince, and diligently imitate what he loves, first formed a good discipline in his own court and family, that so he might express in deeds what he commanded in words; and as he propounded his own life to be an example to his household, so he would have the manners of his domestics be the patterns for other people. He first purged his court from all the vile ministers of lust and wickedness, that he might be the better justified, when he undertook to do the same in other parts of his kingdom; for this good end he resolved to travel over the whole country, to call together assemblies, for the preventing and punishing of thefts, murders, and robberies, for the encouraging of men to labour by rewards, and for exhorting them to concord by winning speeches, that so the ancient discipline might be restored. But, in the execution of this his purpose, he found greater difficulty than he imagined; for the major part of the nobility either had guilty consciences themselves, and so feared their own personal punishments; or else were allied in blood to those who were guilty; and therefore the first assembly being called at Lanark, a town of Clydesdale, they who were summoned to appear, being forewarned of their danger by their relations, some of them fled

into the Æbudæ isles ; others to other parts, infamously famous for robberies. The king understanding the cheat, and being not ignorant of the authors of it, dissembled his anger, and dissolved the assembly ; and so passed with a few of his familiar attendants into Galloway, as if he were to perform a vow he had made to St Ninian. Being come thither, he consulted with those whom he judged most faithful to him, what was to be done in such a case. The result was, that a convention of all the nobility should, the next year, be held at Scone, upon pretence of some considerable matters to be advised upon, concerning the good of the whole nation in general ; that there the heads of the factions might be apprehended without any tumult ; and when they were imprisoned, their clans and tenants might be made to bring in the malefactors to the king. This project was judged most advisable ; but it was kept secret, and communicated but to few, until the meeting at Scone came. There the king had caused his servants to prepare soldiers, and to keep them privately in the next house to his palace, the day before the estates assembled ; and at the opening of it the nobility, being very numerous, came, where they were courteously treated by the king ; but, upon a sign given, they were immediately beset with armed men. They were all in a surprise, and overwhelmed with fear, at this sudden face of things ; but the king encouraged them by a gentle speech, telling them, “ That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good or innocent man ; and those arms were not provided for their destruction, but for their defence. He farther alleged how they could not be ignorant, that all his endeavours, since he first came to the crown, tended to this, that wicked and debauched persons might be punished, and the good enjoy the estates, either left them by their ancestors, or acquired by their own industry ; and besides, might

have the quiet enjoyment of those rewards, which the king bountifully had bestowed, or might bestow upon them, according to every one's worth and merit; and that these things might easily be brought to pass, if they would lend their helping hands. The last year (said he) when I summoned some of the offenders to appear on a certain day, none at all came; that failure, as he understood by common report, was not made so much out of confidence of their own strength, as of the assistance of their relations and friends; which, if true, was both dangerous to the public, and a great reflection upon such families. Now was the time when they might redeem both themselves from imputations, and the kingdom from being molested by robberies. This was easy to be done, if those who were most powerful in every county, would cause the malefactors to be apprehended and brought to condign punishment; and who those malefactors were, was visible to all; but if they made excuses, and having so fair an opportunity to deserve well of their country, were deficient in improving it, the king, to whose care the safety of the whole people was committed, could not be excused, if he set them at liberty, before the offenders were brought to punishment; and that this was the end why he had taken them into custody; and if any one thought his long confinement would be a trouble to him, he might thank himself, seeing it was in his own power, not only to procure his own liberty, but also to obtain honour, reward, and the praise of all good men into the bargain." The nobles having heard this harangue, after advice had one with another, answered, "That they had rather assert their innocency by deeds than words." Accordingly they promised him their assistance, and desired him to lay aside all suspicion, if he had conceived a sinister opinion of any of them. Upon this their solemn engagement, the king told them the names of the

offenders. The nobles, by their friends, made diligent search after them; and, in a short time, they were brought to the king, and punished according to law. After that the nobles were dismissed, having received some gifts, and many large promises, from the king; and the commonalty also prayed heartily for his majesty and the nobility.

Matters being thus composed at home, he faithfully observed the league made by some former kings with the English. But this great tranquillity of all Britain was soon disturbed by the Danes, who appeared with a great fleet, and anchored near the Red Promontory, or Red-Head, a place in *Ænia*, or *Angus*. There they staid some days in consultation, whether they should land in that place, or direct their course towards England, as they intended at first. Many of them were of opinion, that it was most adviseable to make for England, an opulent country, where they might have both provision enough for their army, and also some hopes of auxiliaries and recruits, in regard that many who were derived from Danish ancestors, were yet alive amongst them, and many others stood obliged to them for old courtesies and friendships; and that these, upon the first notice of their arrival, would presently flock in to them, as they had usually done in times before; but, as for the Scots, they were a fierce nation, and very hardy, as those use to be who are bred in barren and hungry soils; that they never attempted them, without some great and remarkable loss; and, in the present case, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their labour; but if they were overcome by them, they must endure the utmost extremity and rigour. Others were of a different opinion, alleging, that if they made their descent on the coasts of England, then they should be obliged to fight both nations at once; but if the Scots were first overcome, the war against the English would be easy,

when they were bereft of foreign aids, and also terrified with the loss of their friends. They farther urged, that it was not the part of great and magnanimous spirits, to be intent on prey and booty only; they should rather call to mind the blood of their kindred and ancestors, who had been so often cruelly slain in Scotland; and that now, especially, having a great army, and being furnished also with things necessary for war, they ought to take that revenge, which might punish the savage cruelty of the Scots, according to their deserts, and might also carry the terror of the Danish name to all the neighbouring nations.

This last opinion prevailed, and they sailed with their navy to the mouth of the river Esk, and there landed their forces. They plundered the town next to them, destroying all with fire and sword; as for the castle, they levelled it to the ground; they slaughtered all the inhabitants of the town, without distinction of age or sex. They made the like desolation too all over Angus, even to the frith of the river Tay. The news of it was brought to the king, then residing at Stirling. Those who had escaped the fury of the enemy made things worse in their relations than they were in reality. He, by the advice of those nobles that were present, propounded a short day to such as dwelt near, to come in to him. Those who dwelt farther off he charged by letters to hasten up with their forces; but, with such force as he had at present about him, he drew towards the enemy, both to make what discovery he could of their posture, and likewise to prevent their plundering. In a short time a great multitude came into his camp, which was pitched at the confluence of the rivers Tay and Earn. As he was there ordering his forces, news was brought him, that the enemy had passed over the Tay, and were besieging Perth. The king, concerned at the danger of a town so near him, marches directly to it. As

soon as the Danes were in sight, the Scots, eager of revenge, made haste to fight them, and pitching upon a very convenient place for their army, they approached the enemy. But the Danes having seated themselves on an opposite hill, where they could not, without much hazard, be attacked, the archers and dartsmen compelled them to come down, insomuch that a most cruel fight began at the bottom of the hill; much blood was spilt, and the victory uncertain, when the Danes gave forth a word through their whole army, "That no man must ever hope to return again to their camp, unless as a conqueror." Then, after a great and universal shout, they made such a brisk charge and assault upon the Scots, that they routed both their wings, and eagerly followed the pursuit. That day had been certainly most ruinous to the Scots, unless aid had been afforded by one man, sent, as it were, from heaven, in so desperate a posture of affairs! There was a certain commoner, whose name was Hay, who was casually ploughing in the field over which the Scots fugitives were making the best of their way, and his two sons with him; they were able bodied men, stout and courageous, and also great lovers of their country. The father took a yoke, the sons what instruments they could catch, and stood in a narrow pass, where the Scots flew the thickest; there, first by reproaches, then by menaces, they endeavoured to stop them; but not prevailing by either, they fell upon those that pressed on them, saying, "That they would be as so many Danes to them who thus ran away." Hereupon, those who were of more dastardly spirits made an halt, and the stouter, who were rather carried away by the rout than fled for fear, joined with them, crying out, "Help was at hand;" so that the whole company turned back again on the enemy, and forced the Danes to as dreadful and precipitate a flight as they themselves had been lately guilty of.

This trepidation of the Danes occasioned a great shout among the baggage-men and country people, as if a new army had been coming. This accident gave so great encouragement to the Scots, and struck such a terror into the Danes, that it raised the spirits of the former, who were almost upon the point of desperation; and occasioned to the other a certain overthrow, instead of an hoped-for victory.

This is the victory, obtained at the village of Luncarty, celebrated for that and some days after, and transmitted down to posterity with great rejoicing. When the conquerors were dividing the spoils, the name of Hay was in all their mouths; many creditable persons affirmed that they saw, wherever he or his sons made an onset, there our ranks were restored, and the Danes broken: in fine, they all unanimously ascribed the prey, the victory, the honour of the day, and their own lives to him. When Hay was brought to the king, he spoke very modestly of himself, and having rich and splendid garments offered him and his sons, that he and they might be the more taken notice of, at their entrance into Perth, he refused them; only he wiped away the dust off his coat, which he wore every day, and carried the yoke which he used in the fight, and so he entered the city; a great train being commanded by the king to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him: such a confluence of people there was at this new spectacle, that he alone took up almost the whole solemnity of the day. After the departure of the Danes, and so sudden and unexpected a calm, in an assembly of the estates, shortly after held at Scone, the first debate they went upon was, what honours and rewards should be bestowed on Hay and his sons. Lands were allotted him, almost the fruitfullest in all Scotland, which his posterity enjoy to this day, and their family is happily increased into many opulent branches;

and they were then promoted from the rank of the plebeians to the order of the nobility ; and a coat of arms was assigned them according to the custom of noble houses, viz. argent three escutcheons gules ; which bearing shews, in my opinion, that the public safety was procured by the eminent fortitude of those three persons in that fight.

After this battle, peace seemed to have been settled for many years, when, behold, some troublesome matters at home disturbed this calm. As for the commotion of the islanders, who, in a plundering way, ranged all over Ross, that was quickly suppressed ; some of the robbers being slain in fight, some taken in pursuit, and after executed. But Crathilinthus, the son of Fenella, or (as some call her) Finabella, gave far greater disturbance : he was then the chief of all Mearn, both in descent and wealth. Cruthinetus, his grandfather by the mother's side, was made governor by the king over that part of Angus which lies between the two rivers, each of them having the name of Esk, where he gathered the king's taxes and revenues. His grandson coming with a great train to visit him, a sudden quarrel arose amongst their servants, so that two of Crathilinthus's attendants were slain. He complained of it to his grandfather, who laid the blame of the tumult upon his grandson's rude retinue and company ; and after a sharp reproof he was dismissed by him, but not without contumelies from his servants and domestics : so that, returning home, he in great wrath complained of the affront to his mother : who was so far from endeavouring to allay his rage, and quiet the mind of the incensed youth, by grave and wholesome counsel, that she provoked him with exclamations even to commit parricide upon her own father and his grandfather. Not long after, Crathilinthus, having gathered an armed company together, fit for his purpose, comes by night into Angus, to his grandfather's castle : he, with some few fol-

lowers, were admitted in without suspicion ; and being once entered, he gave the word to the rest, who lay in ambush, and let them in also ; so that he slew his grandfather with his whole family, plundered the castle, depopulated the country adjacent ; and, as if he had done a famous exploit, he returned pompously with a great booty into Mearn. But the Angusians did not suffer this injury to pass long unrevenge ; for soon after, gathering a great many of their faction together, they made great havock in the district of Mearn. From that time forward slaughters and rapines were occasionally committed on both sides. Kennethus hearing of it, published a proclamation, that the chiefs of either faction should appear at Scone, within fifteen days, to answer what should be objected against them ; for he feared, that if a greater number should resort together, farther tumults might arise. Some few being terrified by this threatening edict, made their appearance accordingly ; but the greatest part, of whom Crathilinthus was chief, being conscious of their own demerits, made the most convenient escape they could. The king made diligent search after them, and the greatest part of them were taken in Lochaber, and some elsewhere. Crathilinthus, and the chief of the faction, were punished with death ; others, according to the degree of their crimes, had less punishments ; and those who were but a little guilty, had none at all inflicted on them.

This moderation and temperament procured to the king fear from the bad, but great love from the good ; and settled peace in all his kingdom, till the twenty-second year of his reign. From whence, if he had persisted in that course of life which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongst the best of princes ; for he so performed all the offices both of peace and war, that he got great renown upon the account of his equity, constancy, and valour. But the excellency of his former life was blemished

by one wicked act that he committed, which seemed to be of a more heinous nature in him, in regard it was incredible and unexpected to proceed from his disposition, who had before so severely punished grand offenders. The occasion of it was this: The king being grown somewhat ancient, had a son named Malcolm, a prince of great ingenuity; but in point of age, not yet mature to govern so fierce a people, if his father should die. Farther, the custom of our ancestors was then against it, that he should reign next after his father; for they were wont to choose, not the next, but the fittest of the deceased king's relations, provided he were descended from Fergus the first king of the Scots. Besides, the favour of the nobility was inclined to another Malcolm, the son of king Duffus, the most praiseworthy prince of all the Scottish royal race. He was then governor of Cumberland, which county the Scots held as feudatories of the kings of England, on such terms, that the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as previous to the throne of Scotland; for it had been so observed for some ages past. The king, perceiving that this Malcolm, for the reasons before-mentioned, would be an hindrance to his son's succession, not daring to destroy him openly, caused him privately to be made away by poison. Thus died that excellent young man, much lamented, and near to his greatest hope: some signs of poison appeared in his body, but it entered into no man's heart to suspect the king. Nay, his deportment was such, as to avert all suspicion; for he mourned and wept for his death, and made an honourable mention of his name, whenever occasion offered: he caused him to be magnificently interred, no ceremony being omitted which could be invented for the honour of the deceased. But this superlative diligence of the king to remove the suspicion from himself, gave a shrewd jealousy to the more sagacious. Yet they forbore

to speak out, for the reverence they all bore to, and had conceived of the king's sanctity. But soon after, the king himself scattered some words abroad, to try the minds of men, how they would bear the abrogating of an old law, and the enacting a new, concerning the succession of their kings, viz. "That according to the custom of many nations, if a king died, his son should succeed him; and if he were under age, then to have a protector or tutor assigned to him, so that the kingly name might rest in the child; but the power of government in the tutors or guardians, till he came of age." Though a great part of the nobles praised his speech; as being willing to gratify him; yet the suspicion concerning the death of Malcolm prevailed upon the major part, and especially upon the nobility, and those of the blood-royal, who were afraid of the king.

Men's minds being thus affected, ambassadors came from England, to comfort the king upon the loss of his kinsman; and withal desiring, that, in substituting another governor, he would remember, that Cumberland, being the bond of concord betwixt the two nations, he would set such a person over it, who might be an indifferent arbiter of peace, and that would maintain the ancient alliance betwixt the two nations, for the good of them both; and who, if any new suspicions or jealousies should arise, would labour to extinguish them. The king judged this embassy fit for his purpose; so that having convened the nobility at Scone, he made a grave harangue to them, against the ancient custom of the assemblies of estates in this point, wherein he recited all the seditions which had happened on that account, and with how great impiety some of the surviving kindred had treated the children of former kings; and what wars, rapines, slaughters and banishments, had been the fatal consequences. On the other side, he put them in mind, how much more peaceable, and less turbulent, the parliamentary assemblies of

other countries were ; and what great reverence was borne to the blood-royal, when, without canvassing for succession, children succeeded their parents in the throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the matter to that great council to determine something in this case : he acquainted them also with the demands of the English ambassador ; and to give a greater and more manifest proof of his condescension and civility, whereas it was in the king's power alone to appoint a governor of Cumberland, he left it to them to nominate one ; supposing, that by this his moderation he might the more easily obtain his desire concerning the succession to the crown ; for if he himself had nominated his son for a governor, he thought he should have prejudiced his other request ; because, as I said before, the government or prefecture over Cumberland was looked upon as the designation of the person to be the next succeeding king of Scotland. Constantine, the son of Culenus, and Grimus, the son of Mogal, brother to king Duffus, who were thought most likely to oppose both requests, were first asked their opinions in this case ; who, partly for fear of danger, and partly that they might not run counter to the major part of the nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenced by the king, gave their vote, " That it was in the king's power to correct and amend laws, which were inconvenient to the public ; and also to appoint what governor he pleased over Cumberland." The rest, though they knew that they had spoken contrary to their own sense, yet consented to what they said. And by this means Malcolm, the king's son, though not of age, but immature for government, was declared Governor of Cumberland, and also Prince of Scotland ; which title signifies in Scotland as much as Dauphin doth in France, and Cæsar amongst the old Roman emperors, and the King of the Romans amongst the modern Germans, whereby the successor to the preceding magistrate is understood. Other

laws were also made, viz. "That as the king's eldest son should succeed his father, so, if the son died before the father, the grandson should succeed the grandfather: that when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen; some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in the king's name and stead, till he came to fourteen years of age, and then he had liberty to chuse guardians for himself." And besides, many other things were enacted concerning the legitimate succession of heirs, which ran in common to the whole nobility, as well as to the king. The king having thus, by indirect and evil practices, settled the kingdom on his posterity, as he thought, yet his mind was not at rest; for though he was very courteous to all, and highly beneficial and obliging to a great many, and managed the kingdom, that no one part of a good king was wanting in him; yet his mind being disquieted with the guilt of his offence, suffered him to enjoy no sincere or solid mirth; but in the day he was vexed with the corroding thoughts of that foul wickedness, which would always force themselves into his mind, and in the night terrible apparitions disturbed his rest. At last, a voice was heard from heaven, either a true one, as some think, or else such as his disquieted mind suggested, as it commonly happens to guilty consciences, speaking to him in his bed to this effect: "Dost thou think, " that the murder of Malcolm, an innocent man, " secretly and most impiously committed by thee, is " either unknown to me, or that thou shalt longer go " unpunished for the same? There are already plots " laid against thy life, which thou canst not avoid; " neither shalt thou leave a firm and stable kingdom " to thy posterity, as thou thinkest to do, but a tumultuous one, and full of storms and tempests." The king terrified by this dreadful apparition, hastened by times in the morning to the bishops and monks, to whom he declared the confusion of

his mind, and his repentance for his impiety. They, instead of prescribing a true remedy, according to the doctrine of Christ, (being then degenerated themselves from the piety and simplicity of their ancestors), enjoined him those absurd and fallacious ones, which evil and selfish men had devised for their own gain, and unwary people had as greedily received; which were, to bestow gifts on temples and holy places, to visit the sepulchres of holy men, to kiss their relics, and to expiate his sins by masses and alms; and withal, they enjoined him to respect and reverence monks and priests, more than he had done before. Neither did the king omit to perform all that they enjoined him, thinking to be healed in his conscience by these expiations. At length, when he came to Mearn to do reverence to the bones of Palladius, a very holy person, he turned a little out of his way to go and take a view of a neighbouring castle, called Fettercairn; which was then, as it is reported, very pleasant with shady groves, and piles of curious buildings, of which there remain no footsteps at this day. The lady of that castle was called Fenella, of whom mention is made before; who bore the king a mortal grudge, not only for the punishment of her son Crathilinthus, but also upon the account of her kinsmen, Constantinus and Grimus, who, by this new law, were excluded from the succession to the crown. But, dissembling her anger, she entertained the king very splendidly, and with great magnificence; and, after dinner, she carried him out to view the pleasantness of the place, and the structure of the castle; and among the rest, she led him into a privy parlour, to see a brass statue, most curiously and artfully cast, which was made with so much ingenuity, as they say, that when a string or cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out arrows of its own accord; and whilst the king was intent in viewing this engine,

an arrow darted out from it, and slew him. Johannes Major and Hector Boetius do both say, that the king came thus to his end; though, in my judgment, it seems not at all probable. For it is not credible, that, after the decay of noble arts amongst other nations, so curious a statue should be then made, and that in the remotest part of Britain too; though John Major writes, that Edmond, the son of Eldred, was slain by the same artifice; but I cannot bring myself to think any otherwise than that both stories are fabulous: neither can I easily persuade myself, that all Scotland together had so many jewels in possession, as Boetius affirms that one lady was owner of. And therefore, I rather incline to the opinion of some others, among whom is Winton, who writes, that the king was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush at the command of Fenella. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; a prince eminent for all other things, if the murder of Malcolm, and his too great affection to his kindred, had not made such a foul blot in his escutcheon. He deceased in the year of Christ 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. *the Eighty-first King.*

After Kenneth's death, Constantine the son of Culenus, surnamed the Bald, used so much diligence in canvassing to get the kingdom, as never any man did before him. For he insinuated himself with all sorts of people, complaining, that he and others of the royal blood were circumvented by the fraud of Kennethus, and so excluded from the hopes of the kingdom, upon the pretence of a most unjust law; to which he, with others of the blood, were forced by fear to consent. He farther alleged, that the inconvenience of the law was very manifest and visible in itself. For what, said he, can be more imprudent and foolish, than to take away one of the greatest concerns in government,

from the suffrage of the wise, and to leave it to the liberty of fortune? and to bind themselves to obey a child, because casually born of a king; who, perhaps, might be ruled by some woman; and, in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous men from sitting at the helm? He added, farther, what if the children of the king should have some defect, either of mind or body, which made them unfit for government? What if children, proceeded he, had enjoyed the kingdom in those days, when we fought so many battles with the Romans, Britons, Picts, English, and Danes, not so much for dominion, as for a mere being and subsistence in the world? Nay, what can border more upon madness, than to bring that upon ourselves by a law, which God threatens as the severest judgment to the rebellious; and by this means, either to despise the threatenings and predictions of the Almighty, or to run into them of their own accord? Neither, said he, is that true, which the flatterers of Kennethus please themselves with urging, *i. e.* that the slaughters and avarice of the king's kindred may, by this means, be avoided; for the king's children, whilst under age, have as much reason to fear the frauds of their guardians, as before they did the plots of their kindred. And therefore, now the tyrant is removed, said he, let us valiantly recover the liberty he has taken away; and, abrogating that law, which was enacted by force, and submitted to out of fear, if it may be called a law, and not rather a public enslaving of us, and a prostitution of our liberties: let us, I say, return to the ancient institutions and customs, by which this kingdom arose almost out of nothing; and which, from small beginnings, have advanced it to that splendour, that it is inferior to none of its neighbours; nay, and which have erected it again to a fresh high tide of glory, when it was at a low ebb. Therefore let us not neglect, or slip over this present opportunity, which offers itself, lest

hereafter we seek it in vain. By these and the like harangues, with diligent application to the great ones, he drew a great multitude to his party, who assembled at Scone, twelve days after the funeral of Kennethus, and declared him king.

In the mean time Malcolm, who was busy about his father's funeral, hearing that Constantine was made king, called his friends together, to deliberate what was proper to be done. Some were of opinion, that before he proceeded any farther, he should sound how the minds of the nobles stood affected, so that he might know what strength he was able to raise against a popular man, supported by so many factions and alliances; and then to form a resolution according to the number of his forces. But those who were young and headstrong, despised this course, as slow and dilatory; alleging, that it was best to obviate the danger at its first rise, and to proceed against the enemy before he was settled in his new kingdom. The king being young, embraced the latter opinion, as the more specious of the two; and having gathered an army of about ten thousand men together, marches towards the enemy. Neither was Constantine defective in his preparations; for in a short time he levied so great an army, that Malcolm, at the news of his approach, disbanded his soldiers, and retired himself into Cumberland. But Kennethus, his natural brother, begot on a concubine, judging that course to be very dishonourable, persuaded some of the most valiant troops to stay behind, and so to stop the enemy at the river Forth, near Stirling, which was the boundary to both armies. There both camps lay idle on the high banks of the river, which was fordable but in few places; by which means they were so afflicted with pestilence and famine, (both which calamities raged very much that year), that each army was forced to disband. Thus the kingdom being divided into two factions, the commonality was misera-

bly afflicted with hunger, pestilence, and frequent robberies. In the mean time, during the absence of Malcolm, who, according to his league, was assisting the English against the Danes, Constantine, thinking he had now got a convenient opportunity to subdue the adverse faction, marches with great forces into Lothian. Kennethus, who was left by his brother to observe all Constantine's motions, gave him an halt at the mouth of the river Almon. And because he was inferior in number, he supplied that defect by stratagem; for he so managed his army, that he got the advantage both of the sun and wind; and, besides, his army was flanked, as much as it could, with the river, which was the chief cause of his victory. For those on the side of Constantine, trusting to their numbers, rushed violently into the battle, having the sun-beams darting into their faces; and besides, a storm suddenly arising, drove so much dust into their eyes, that they could scarce lift up their heads against their enemies. A great slaughter was made in both armies, and both the generals themselves, upon a charge, wounded and slew one another; after Constantine had invaded the kingdom a year and six months.

GRIMUS, the Eighty-second King.

Grimus, the son of king Duffus, or, as others say, of his brother Mogallus, after Constantine's death, was brought to Scone; and there, by the men of his own faction, was made king. He, perceiving that some nobles of his party were already corrupted by messengers sent from Malcolm, and more of them were solicited by him to a defection, took some of those messengers, and committed them to prison. Malcolm, being much incensed at the imprisonment of his ambassadors, as being done against the law of nations, breaks forth into open war. As Grimus was making head against him, a sudden

rumour was dispersed through all Malcolm's army, of the vast and prodigious strength of the army coming against them; so that all Malcolm's measures were broken, many of his soldiers deserted by stealth, and many others, making frivolous pretences, publicly desired to be dismissed. This fear first arose from the merchants, who, preferring their private concerns before the public good, scattered the report throughout the whole army. And, besides, there were some among them, who privately favoured Grimus's party; for, indeed, there were many things in him very attractive of the vulgar, as the tallness of his stature, his great beauty, accompanied with a singular courtesy, and a comely mien in all his actions: besides, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing offenders, and he managed matters with great prudence and dispatch; so that many promised themselves an happy and honourable calm under his government. In this diversity and combustion of men's spirits, Malcolm, not daring to trust any thing to the hazard of a battle, by the advice of his friends dismissed the greatest part of his army; and with some select troops, resolved to stop the enemys passage over the Forth.

In the mean time, the bishop of that diocese, Fothadus by name, of whom all had an high opinion for his sanctity, endeavoured to compose matters by his authority; and interposing betwixt both parties, he at length brought matters to this pass, that a truce was made for three months; Grimus being to go into Angus, and Malcolm into Cumberland; and arbitrators were likewise to be chosen by both parties, by consent, who were to determine the main controversy in dispute. Neither did Fothadus give over his endeavours, till they concluded a peace on these conditions:—"That Grimus should retain the name of king, as long as he lived; and that, after his decease, the kingdom should return to Malcolm; and for the future, the law of Kennethus, for esta-

blishing the succession in the king's children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. "In the mean time, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary to them both. That which was within the wall was to belong to Malcolm, and that without to Grimus. Both of them were to be contented with those limits, neither being to invade each other, or to assist the enemies of one another." Thus peace was made, to the great joy of all men, which was religiously observed for almost eight years. Grimus was the first occasion of the breach; for, whereas since the beginning of his reign, in turbulent times he had carried himself as a good prince, his industry being slackened by the quiet he enjoyed, he wholly plunged himself in voluptuous courses; and that kind of life being, as usually it is, a life of expense, he was reduced to some necessity, and so was forced to pretend crimes against the richer sort, that he might satisfy his own avarice, and enjoy their estates. Being told of the danger of this course by his grave counsellors, he was so far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his former injustice, that he resolved to put his monitors in prison, and terrified others by their punishment, from using the like freedom in reproving kings. In order to this, he invited them kindly to his court, but they, having notice of his design by their friends, thought fit to retire; at which Grimus was so enraged, that he gathered a band of men together, and pursued them, wasting their lands more than any foreign enemy could have done; he spared neither men, horses, cattle, nor corn; and that which he could not carry away, he spoiled, that so it might be rendered useless to the owners. Thus he made a promiscuous havock of all things, (whether sacred or profane), by fire and sword. Complaint of this being made to Malcolm, who was then busy in helping the English against the Danes, he presently returned home; for he was incensed, not only at the

undeserved sufferings of so many brave and innocent persons, but much more at the indignity offered him by Grimus; who, knowing that the lands were shortly to pass over to another, without any respect to future times, had ravaged and swept away the fruits, as if it had been an enemy's country. There was a great resort to Malcolm at his return; insomuch, that though Grimus had for a time been dear to, and beloved by the people, yet now the greatest part of the nobles forsook and abandoned him. However, he got what forces he could, and with those he made head against his enemy. When their camps were near one another, Grimus, knowing that Malcolm would religiously observe Ascension-day, resolved then to attack him, hoping to find him unprepared. Malcolm, having notice of his design, kept his men in arms; and though he did hope well as to the victory, in so good a cause, yet he sent to Grimus, to advise him to defer fighting for that day, that so they, being Christians, might not pollute so holy a day with shedding the blood of their countrymen; yet he was nevertheless resolved to fight, alleging to his soldiers, that the fear the enemy was in, though pretended to be out of reverence to so holy a feast, was a good omen of their victory. Then a fierce and eager fight began; and Grimus, deserted by his men, was wounded in the head, taken prisoner, and soon after had his eyes put out; and in a short time, partly out of grief, partly through the anguish of his wounds, he died in the tenth year of his reign. Malcolm carried it nobly towards the conquered, and caused Grimus to be interred in the sepulchres of his ancestors. He received the faction that followed him into his grace and favour, and blotted out the memory of all past offences; then going to the assembly of the estates at Scone, before he would take the government upon him, he caused the law made by his father, concerning the succession to the crown, to

be publicly ratified by the votes of the whole Parliament.

MALCOLM II. *the Eighty-third King.*

At the entrance into his government, he laboured to restore the state of the kingdom, which was sorely shaken by factions. And as he forgave all former offences to himself, so he took care that the seeds of faction and discord amongst all different parties might be rooted out. After this, he sent governors, chosen out of the nobility, into all provinces (just and pious men), to restrain the licentiousness of robbers; who, in former times, had taken great liberty to themselves to steal and plunder. By them also the common people were encouraged to tillage and husbandry; so that provisions grew cheaper, commerce between man and man safer, and the public peace was better secured. Amidst these transactions, Sueno, the son of Harald, king of the Danes, being banished from home, came into Scotland. He was oftentimes overcome, made prisoner by, and ransomed from the Vandals; and having sought for aid in vain from Olavus king of the Scandians, and Edward king of England, at last he came into Scotland, and being converted to Christianity, of which before he was a most bitter enemy, he received some small forces there, and so returned into his own country: from whence soon after he passed over with a great army into England. First, he overthrew the English alone, and afterwards he had the same success against them, when the Scots assisted them; whom he grievously threatened, because they would not forsake the English, and return into their own country. Neither were his menaces in vain: for Olavus of Scandia, and Enecus, general of the Danes, were sent by him with a great army into Scotland; they ranged over all Murray, killed whomsoever they met, took away all they could

catch, whether sacred or profane; at last, gathering into a body, they assaulted castles, and other strong places. While they were besieging these fortresses, Malcolm had raised an army out of the neighbouring countries, and pitched his camp not far from them. The day after, the Scots perceiving the multitude of the Danes, and their warlike preparations, were struck with great terror: the king endeavoured to encourage them, but to little purpose; at last, a clamour was raised in the camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when it was raised, others received, and seconded it; so that, presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the Danes, without the command of their leaders, and rushed upon the points of their swords, who were ready to receive them. After the forwardest were slain, the rest fled back, faster than ever they came on. The king was wounded in the head, and had much ado to be carried off the field into an adjacent wood, where he was put on horseback, and so escaped with his life. After this victory the castle of Nairn was surrendered to the Danes, the garrison being dismayed at the event of the unhappy fight; yet they put them to death after the surrender. They strongly fortified the castle, because it was seated in a convenient pass; and, of a peninsula, made it an isle, by cutting through a narrow neck of land, for the sea to surround it; and then they called it, by a Danish name, Burgus. The other castles, which were Elgin and Forres, were deserted, for fear of the cruelty of the Danes. The Danes, upon this good success, resolved to fix their habitations in Murray, and sent home their ships to bring over their wives and children, in the mean time exercising all manner of cruel hardships over the captive Scots. Malcolm, in order to prevent their farther progress, got a stronger and more compact army together; and when they were gone into Marr, he met them at a place called Mortlach, both armies being

in great fear; the Scots being afraid of the cruelty of the Danes, and the Danes fearing the places, which they did not know, (as being far from the sea, and fit for ambushes,) more than their enemies. In the beginning of the fight, the Scots were much discouraged at the slaughter of three of their valiant worthies, viz. of Kennethus, thane of the islands; of Grimus, thane of Strathearn; and of Dunbar, thane of Lothian, who all fell presently one after another; so that they were forced to retreat, and to retire into their old fastnesses, which was behind their backs; there, fencing their camp with a trench, ditch, and large trees, which they cut down in a narrow place, they fronted and stopped the enemy; nay, they slew some, who, as if they had fully carried the victory, did carelessly assault them, amongst whom Enecus, one of their generals, fell. His loss, as it made the Danes less forward to fight, so it gave new courage to the Scots, who were intimidated before. So that, almost in a moment of time, the scene was quite altered; the Danes were put to flight, and the Scots pursued them. Olavus, the other of their generals, got some to guide him, and bent his course that night towards Murray. Though Malcolm knew it, yet, having slain the forwardest of his enemies, and wounded many more, he desisted from following the chace. When news of this overthrow was brought to Sueno in England, he bore it with undaunted bravery, and sent some of his old soldiers, and some that were newly come to him from his own country, under Camus, their general, to recruit his old and shattered army in Scotland. He first came into the Frith of Forth; but being hindered by the country-people (who observed all his motions) from landing, he set sail, and made for the Red Promontory of Angus. There he landed his men, and attempted to take some places; but being disappointed, he fell to plundering. Having pitched his tents at Balbridum, i. e. the village of St Bride, word was

brought him by his spies, that the Scots forces were scarce two miles distant from him; upon that, both generals, according to the exigence of the time, exhorted their men to fight; and the next day they were all ready at their arms, almost at one time. The third day they fought with so great eagerness and fury, as either new hopes or old animosities could occasion and suggest; at last the Scots prevailed, and Camus, endeavouring to secure the remainder of his army, by flying to the mountains towards Murray, before he had gone two miles, was overtaken by the pursuers, and he and all his men were cut off. There are still extant some monuments of this victory, in an obelisk, and a neighbouring village, which as yet retains the memorable name of Camus. Another band of them were cut off, not far from the town of Brechin, where also another obelisk was erected. The remainder, being few in number, under the covert of the night, made to their ships; these last were tossed up and down several days in the raging sea by cross winds; at length coming to the inhospitable shore of Buchan, they rode there so long at anchor, till they were necessitated for want, to send about 500 of their men ashore, to get some relief out of the neighbouring country. Mernanus, the thane of the place, stopped them from returning to their ships, and compelled them to retire to a steep hill, where, being assisted by the conveniency of the place, they defended themselves with stones, and slew many of the Scots, who rashly attempted them. At last the Scots encouraged one another, and in several parties, in great numbers, got up the hill, and put every man of the Danes to the sword. There also, as well as at Balbridum, when the wind blows up the sand, there are bones discovered of a greater magnitude than can well suit with the stature of the men of our times.

Yet Sueno was not discouraged, no not even with

this new overthrow, but sent his son Canutus with new levies, into Scotland. He landed his soldiers in Buchan, and so plundered the country round. Malcolm, though he had hardly recovered his loss sustained in former battles, yet made head against him; and being not willing to hazard all by fighting a pitched battle, he thought it best to weary the enemy with light skirmishes, and to keep him from plundering; for by this means he hoped, in a short time, to reduce him to a great want of provisions, as being in an enemy's country, almost quite wasted and desolated by the miseries of war before. He followed this design for some days; but, at last, when the Scots had got a full understanding of their enemy's strength, they less distrusted their own; and both armies, being equally pressed with want, unanimously desired a signal to the battle; pretending, unless it was given, they would fall to it, even without the consent of their generals. Upon that Malcolm drew up his army in battle-array, and the fight was carried on with such desperate rage and fury, that neither party came off in triumph. And though the mere name of the victory fell to the Scots side, yet a great part of the nobility being slain, the rest, wearied and depressed in their spirits, returned to their camp, giving the Danes liberty to retreat, without any pursuit. The next day, when both parties mustered their men, they found so great a slaughter to have been made, that they willingly admitted some priests to be intercessors of peace between them. Accordingly peace was made on these conditions: "That the Danes should leave Murray and Buchan, and depart; and that, as long as Malcolm and Sueno lived, neither of them should wage war with one another any more, nor help one another's enemies; that the field in which the battle was fought, should be set apart and consecrated for the burial of the dead." Upon this, the Danes

withdrew, and Malcolm gave orders for the interment of the slain.

A while after, he called an assembly of the estates at Scone; and that he might reward those who had deserved well of their country, he divided all the king's lands among them. On the other side, the nobility granted to the king, "That, when any of them died, their children should be under the wardship of the king till they arrived at the age of 21 years; and that the king should receive all their revenue, except what was expended for the education of the ward; and, besides, that he should have the power to give them in marriage, or otherwise to dispose of them, when they were grown up; and should also receive their dowry." I judge this custom came rather from the English and Danes; because it yet continues throughout all England, and in part of Normandy. Afterwards the king turned his thoughts to repair the damages sustained by the war. He rebuilt many churches and places applied to sacred uses, that had been demolished by the enemy; he also built new castles, or repaired the old, in every town. Having thus restored peace to the kingdom by his great valour, he endeavoured farther to adorn it with laws and ordinances; and annexed new titles to certain magistracies (I believe, such as he borrowed from his neighbours), which served rather for vain ambition, than for any real use. For, in former times, there was no name superior in honour to that of a knight, except that of thane, *i. e.* governor, or sheriff of a province or county; which custom, as I hear, is yet observed amongst the Danes. But, now-a-days, princes observe no medium in instituting new names, or titles of honour; though there be no use at all of those names, but the bare sound. Thus Malcolm, having finished his toilsome wars, reigned some years in great splendour and glory. But, in the progress of his age, he sullied the beauty of his

former life with the deformity of avarice. That vice, being incident to old men, partly grew up in him with his age, and partly arose from that want which his exorbitant grants had driven him to. So that those lands which he had unadvisedly distributed amongst the nobility, he did as unjustly and wickedly labour to resume; and by exorbitant fines laid upon the possessors, he broke the hearts of some, and reduced others to great penury. The present sense of suffering, though sometimes just, blotted out the memory of all former favours; so that the injury reaching to a few, but the fear to many, the friends and kindred of those who were slain and impoverished, bent all their thoughts to revenge their relations, and to secure themselves. And, at last, bribing the king's domestics, at Glamis, in Angus, they were admitted at night into the king's bed-chamber, where they murdered him. When they had committed the bloody deed, those bribed domestics, together with the parricides, took horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all events; and, being not able to find the way, as a deep snow had covered all the tracks, they were confounded, and wandered in the fields, till they arrived at a lake by the town of Forfar; where, endeavouring to pass over, the ice not being very firm, their own weight sunk them, and they were every soul of them drowned. Their bodies lay undiscovered for a time, by reason of the ice closing again; but when a thaw came, they were found, and taken up, and being discovered who they were, their bodies were hung upon gibbets in the highways, there to rot, for a terror to the living, and in reproach to them after they were dead. This is the common report about Malcolm's end: though some write, that he was slain by an ambush, which was laid by the relations of Grimus and Constantinus, the former kings, after a bloody battle joined and fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was

killed by the friends of a noble virgin, whom he had ravished; but all agree, that he came to a violent death. Malcolm reigned so justly above 30 years, that if avarice had not corrupted his mind in his old age, he might well have been numbered amongst the best of princes. The year in which he died was a year of prodigies; for, in the winter, the rivers did mightily overflow, and in spring there were great inundations of the sea. And, moreover, a few days after the summer solstice, there were very severe frosts, and deep snows, which quite spoiled the fruits of the earth, and thereupon followed a grievous famine.

BOOK VII.

I HAVE declared in the former Book, how eagerly Kennethus, and his son Malcolm, strove to settle the succession to the crown in their families, "That the eldest son might succeed the father;" but what the success of it was, will appear in the sequel. This is certain, that neither the public benefit which was promised to the whole kingdom, nor yet the private advantage alleged to arise to our kings from it, were at all obtained by this new law. An universal good to all was pretended in thus settling the succession, that seditions, murders, and treacheries might be prevented amongst those of the blood-royal; and also that ambition, with the other mischiefs accompanying it, might be rooted out from amongst the nobles. But, on the contrary, when I inquire into the causes of public grievances, and compare the old with the modern, it seems to me, that all those mischiefs which we would have avoided, are so far from being extinguished by the

abolishing of the old, that they rather receive a great increase from this new law. For not to speak of the plots of their kindred against those who are actually on the throne; nor of a present king's evil, suspicions of those whom nature and the law would have accounted as most dear to him; I say, omitting these things, which, in the series of our history, will be farther explained, all the miseries of former ages may seem light and tolerable, if compared with those calamities which followed upon the death of Alexander III. Neither will I insist upon the particulars following, viz. that this law doth enervate the force of all public councils, without which, no lawful government can subsist: that by it we do willingly, and by consent, create those evils to ourselves, which others who have interest in public governments, do chiefly deprecate, viz. to have kings, over whom other governors must be appointed; and so the people are to be committed to their power who have no power over themselves; insomuch, that those who are hardly brought to obey wise, prudent, and experienced kings, are now required to yield obedience, as it were, to the very shadow of a prince: by which means, we willingly precipitate ourselves into those punishments which God threatens to those who despise and contemn his holy Majesty; namely, that we should be in subjection to children, male or female, whom the law of nations, and even nature itself, (the mother of all laws), hath subjected to the rule of others. As for the private benefit that kings aim at by this law, *i. e.* that they may perpetuate their name and family, how vain and fallacious this pretence is, the examples of the ancients, nay, even nature itself, might inform them, if they had but considered by how many laws and rewards the Romans endeavoured to perpetuate the splendid names of their families; of which yet no one footstep remains at this day, no not in any part of the

world, which they had conquered. This disappointment most deservedly attends those who fight against nature itself, by endeavouring to clothe a fading, frail thing, subject to momentary alterations, and blasts of fortune, with a sort of perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of eternity which they themselves neither are partakers of, nor can be; nay, they strive to effect it by those mediums which are most cross to their purpose: for what is less conducive to perpetuity than tyranny? yet this new law makes a great step towards it; for a tyrant is, as it were, the white, or mark, exposed to the hatred of all men, insomuch that he cannot long subsist; and when he falls, all his fall with him. It seems to me that God doth sometimes gently chastise and disappoint this endeavour of foolish men; and sometimes he doth expose it even to public scorn, as if it were set up in emulation of his own power. Of which divine will I know not any fitter or plainer instance, than that which we have now under our hands. For Malcolm, who so much laboured to confirm the law, which was almost forcibly enacted by his father, by common suffrage and consent, that the king's children should be substituted in the room of their deceased parents, even he left no male child behind him; but he had two daughters, one called Beatrix, whom he married to a nobleman named Crinus, the thane of the western islands, and the chief of the other thanes, and therefore styled in that age Abthane; the other named Doaca, married to the thane of Angus, was mother of Macbeth, or Macbeda, of whom in his place.

DUNCAN I. *the Eighty-fourth King.*

Malcolm being slain, as hath been related, Duncan, his grandson by his daughter Beatrix, succeeded him; a prince of great courtesy, and of more indulgence to his own kindred than became

a king ; for he was of a mild disposition, and from his youth gave notable tokens of his popularity ; for, in the most difficult times, when he was made governor of Cumberland by his grandfather, and could not come to the king (by reason of the Danish troops, which swarmed over the country, and stopped all passages), to swear to the laws, yet he faithfully took part with the English, till Canutus, having the rest of England surrendered to him, made an expedition against him ; and then he submitted himself to the Danes, on the same conditions under which he obeyed the English before. This also was popular in him, that he administered justice with great equity ; and every year he visited the provinces, to hear the complaints of the poor ; and, as much as lay in his power, he hindered the great men from oppressing the little ones. But, as these virtues endeared him to the good, so they lessened his authority amongst the lovers of sedition ; and his clemency to the former encouraged the latter to grow audacious. The beginning of the lessening and contempt of his government happened in Lochaber, upon the account of one Bancho, thane of that country, a strict lover of impartial justice. Some ill men, not enduring his severity in punishments, made a conspiracy against him, plundered him of his goods, and drove him away wounded, and almost dead. As soon as ever his wounds permitted him to endure the jogging of his body, he took a journey, and complained to the king ; the king sent a public officer to do justice upon the offenders ; but he was grievously affronted, and afterwards murdered by them ; so great security did they fancy to themselves, by reason of the lenity (but, as they interpreted it, sloth) of a good king. The chief of the faction, which raised this disturbance, was named Macduald ; who, despairing of pardon, prepares himself for open war. He called in the islanders to his assistance, (who were always

prone to sedition,) and also the forwardest of the Irish, in hopes of booty. He told them that under an effeminate and slothful king, who was fitter to rule monks than warriors, there was no fear of punishment; but there might be great hopes of advantage; and that he did not doubt but the Scots, who were in a manner fettered with the chains of a long peace under the former king, when an alarm was sounded to war, would come in to recover their ancient liberty. These exhortations were seconded with a successful beginning, which much heartened the party. There was one Malcolm, of the prime nobility, sent by the king against them with some forces; but his army was presently overthrown by them, and he himself, being taken prisoner, had his head cut off. The king, troubled at his overthrow, called a council to consult of what was fit to be done. Some were very slow in delivering their opinions; but Macbeth, the king's mother's sister's son, laid the blame of the misfortune on the decay of military virtue; promising withal, that if the command or generalship were bestowed on him and Bancho, who was well acquainted with that country, he would quickly subdue all of them, and bring things into a state of tranquillity. This Macbeth was of a sharp wit, and a very lofty spirit; and if moderation had accompanied it, he had been worthy of a command, though never so eminent; but, in punishing offenders, of that severity, which, without legal restraints, seemed likely to degenerate very soon into cruelty. When the chief command of the army was conferred upon him, many were so terrified, that laying aside their hopes, which they had conceived by reason of the king's slothful temper, they hid themselves in holes and corners. The islanders and the Irish, their flight being stopped, were driven to the last despair, and stoutly fighting, were every one of them slain; Macduald himself, with a few others, flying into a neighbour-

ing castle, being past all hopes of pardon, redeemed himself and his from the insults of his enemies by a voluntary death. Macbeth, not content with that punishment, cut off his head, and sent it to the king at Perth, and hung up the rest of his body in a conspicuous place, for show. Those of the Redshanks which he took, he caused to be hanged.

This domestic sedition being appeased, a far greater terror succeeded, occasioned by the Danes: for Sueno, their most powerful king, dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons; England to Harald, Norway to Sueno, and Denmark to Canutus. Harald dying soon after, Canutus succeeded him in the kingdom of England. Sueno, or Swain, king of Norway, emulous of his brother's glory, crossed the seas with a great navy, and landed in Fife. Upon the news of his coming, Macbeth was sent to levy an army; Bancho, the other general, staying with the king. Duncan, or Donald, as if just roused from a slumber of indolence, was forced to go meet the enemy. They fought near Culross with such obstinate courage, that as one party was scarce able to fly, so the other had no heart to pursue. The Scots, who looked upon themselves as overcome, rather by the incommodiousness of the place, than by the valour of their enemies, retreated to Perth, and there staid with the remains of their conquered forces, waiting for the motions of the enemy. Swain thinking that if he pressed eagerly on them, all Scotland would speedily be his own, marched towards Perth with all his forces to besiege Duncan; his ships he sent about by the Tay, to meet him there. Duncan, though he much confided in the present posture of affairs, because Macbeth was very near him with a new supply of force; yet being counselled by Bancho to piece out his force by stratagem, he sent messengers, one to Macbeth, to desire him to stop where he was, and another to Swain, to treat about the surrender of the town,

The Scots desired, that upon the surrender they and theirs might have liberty to depart in safety; Swain supposing their request proceeded from the very bottom of despair, would hear of nothing but surrendering at mercy. Upon this he sent other messengers with unlimited instructions, and a command to delay time in making conditions; who, to ingratiate themselves the more, told the Norwegians that whilst the conditions of peace were propounding and settling, their king would send abundance of provisions into their camp, as knowing that they were not overstocked with victualling for the army. That gift was acceptable to the Norwegians, not so much on the account of the Scots bounty, or their own penury, as that they thought it was a sign their spirits were cowed, quite spent, and broken. Whereupon a great deal of bread and wine was sent them, both wine pressed out of the grape, and also strong drink made of barley-malt, mixed with the juice of a poisonous herb, abundance of which grows in Scotland, called sleepy night-shade. The stalk of it is above two feet long, and in its upper part spreads into branches; the leaves are broadish, acuminate at the extremities, and faintly green. The berries are great, and of a black colour when they are ripe, which proceed out of the stalk under the bottom of the leaves; their taste is sweetish, and almost insipid; it has a very small seed, as little as the grains of a fig. The virtue of the fruit, root, and especially of the seed, is soporiferous, and will make men mad, if they be taken in too great quantities. With this herb all the provision was infected; and they that carried it, to prevent all suspicion of fraud, tasted of it before, and invited the Danes to drink huge draughts of it. Swain himself, in token of good-will, did the same, according to the custom of his nation. But Duncan, knowing that the force of the potion would reach to their very vitals, whilst they were asleep,

had in great silence admitted Macbeth with his forces into the city, by a gate which was farthest off from the enemy's camp; and understanding by his spies that the enemy was fast asleep and full of wine, he sent Bancho before, who well knew all the avenues both of that place and of the enemy's camp, with the greatest part of the army, placing the rest in ambush. He, entering their camp, and making a great shout, found all things more neglected than he imagined. Some few roused at the shout, running up and down like madmen, were slain as they were met, the others were killed sleeping. The king, who was dead drunk, wanting not only strength, but sense also, was snatched up by some few, who were not so much overcome with wine as the rest, and laid like a log or beast upon an horse which they casually lighted on, and so carried to the ships. There the case was almost as bad as in the camp, for almost all the seamen were slain ashore; so that there could scarce be got together so many of them as were sufficient to guide one ship; yet by this means the king escaped to his country. The rest of the ships, by stress of weather, fell foul upon one another, and were sunk; and by the hills and mountains of sand, and other slime and weeds which the water carries, meeting together in one great heap, thence grew a place of great danger to sailors, which is commonly called Drumilaw Sands.

While the Scots were rejoicing for this victory obtained without blood, news were brought, that a fleet of Danes rode at Kinghorn, which was sent by Canutus to help Swain. The soldiers and passengers landing, seized upon, and carried away the goods of the people of Fife without any resistance. Bancho was sent with forces against them, who, assaulting the foremost, made a great slaughter among them. These were the principal men of the nation; the rest were easily driven back to their ships,

Bancho is reported to have sold the burying-places for the slain for a great deal of money. Their sepulchres, they say, are yet to be seen in the isle Æmona.

It is reported, that the Danes, having made so many unlucky expeditions into Scotland, bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to return as enemies thither any more. When matters thus prosperously succeeded with the Scots both at home and abroad, and all things flourished in peace, Macbeth, who had always a disgust at the unactive slothfulness of his cousin-german, and had from thence conceived a secret hope of the kingdom in his mind, was farther encouraged in his ambitious thoughts by a dream which he had : for one night, when he was far distant from the king, he seemed to see three women, of a more majestic stature than mortals usually are ; of which one saluted him thane of Angus ; another, thane of Murray ; and a third, king of Scotland. His mind, which was before affected with hope and desire, was mightily encouraged by this dream ; so that he contrived all possible ways by which he might obtain the kingdom ; in order to which, a just occasion was offered him, as he thought. Duncan had two sons by the daughter of Sibert, a petty king of Northumberland ; Malcolm, surnamed Cammorus, which is as much as Jolt-head, and Donaldus, surnamed Banus, *i. e.* White. Of these, he made Malcolm, scarce yet out of his childhood, governor of Cumberland. Macbeth took this matter incredibly ill, in regard he looked upon it as an obstacle to him in his obtaining the kingdom : for having arrived at the enjoyment of his other honours promised him by his dream, he thought this would prove the means that either he should be secluded altogether from the kingdom, or else should be much retarded in the enjoyment of it ; for that the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as the first step to

the kingdom of Scotland. Besides, his mind, which was fierce enough of itself, was spurred on by the daily importunities of his wife, who was privy to all his counsels. At length, communicating the matter to his most intimate friends, amongst whom Bancho was one, he got a fit opportunity at Inverness to waylay the king, and so slew him, in the seventh year of his reign; and, gathering a company together, went to Scone, and by the favour of the people made himself king. Duncan's children were astonished at this sudden disaster; they saw their father was slain, the author of the murder on the throne, and snares laid for them to take away their lives, that so by their death the kingdom might be confirmed to Macbeth. They therefore shifted up and down, and hid themselves, and so for a time escaped his fury; but perceiving that no place could long secure them from his rage, and that being of a fierce and unforgiving nature, there was no hope of clemency to be expected from him, they fled several ways; Malcolm into Cumberland, and Donald to his father's relations in the Æbudæ islands.

MACBETH, the *Eighty-fifth King*.

Macbeth, to confirm the ill-gotten throne to himself, won the favour of the nobles by great gifts, being secure of the king's children because of their age; and of his neighbouring princes, in regard of their mutual animosities and discords. Thus having engaged the great men, he determined to procure the favour of the vulgar by justice and equity, and to retain it by severity, if nothing else would do. Accordingly, he determined with himself to punish the freebooters or thieves, who had taken courage from the lenity of Duncan; but foreseeing that this could not be done without great tumults and much ado, he devised this project, which was, to sow the seeds of discord amongst them by some

fit men for that purpose, that they might be put upon challenging one another; and so some of them might fight in equal and divided numbers one with another. All this was to be done on one and the same day, and that in the most remote parts of Scotland. When they all met at the time appointed, they were taken by the king's men which he had posted conveniently for that purpose. Their punishment struck a terror into the rest; besides, he put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn, and some other chiefs of the clans. By those feuds the commonalty were miserably harassed. Afterwards he went into the *Æbudæ* islands, and exercised severe justice there. After his return from thence, he once or twice summoned Macgill, or Macgild, the most powerful man in all Galloway, to appear; but he refused so to do, rather out of fear for being of Malcolm's faction, than for the guilt of the crimes objected to him; upon his refusal he sent forces against him, who overthrew him in battle, and cut off his head.

The public peace being thus restored, he applied his mind to make laws, (a thing almost wholly neglected by former kings,) and indeed he enacted many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or else lie unobserved, to the great damage of the public. In a word, he so managed the government for ten years, that if he had not obtained it by violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former kings. But when he had thus strengthened himself with the aid and favour of the multitude, that he feared no force to disturb him; the murder of the king (as it is very probable) hurried his mind into dangerous precipices, so that he converted his government, got by treachery, into a cruel tyranny. He vented the first shock of his inhumanity upon Bancho, who was his accomplice in the king's parricide. Some ill men had spread a kind of prophecy abroad among

the vulgar, "That Bancho's posterity should enjoy the kingdom;" whereupon fearing lest he, being a powerful and active man, and having dipt his hands in the blood-royal, should imitate the example that had been lately set him, he played the smiling assassin, and very courteously and humanely invited him and his son to supper; but in his return he caused him to be slain, as in a casual fray or rencounter. His son Fleaneus happening not to be known in the dark, escaped the ambush, and being informed by his friends how his father was treacherously slain by the king, and that his life was also sought after, he fled secretly into Wales. Upon that murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, the nobles were afraid of themselves, insomuch that they all departed to their own homes, and came but few of them, and those very seldom, to court. So that the king's cruelty being on the one hand plainly discovered by some, and on the other vehemently suspected by all sorts of persons, mutual fear and hatred sprung up betwixt him and the nobility; which being impossible to be concealed any longer, he grew an open, a professed, and complete tyrant; and the rich and powerful were for light, frivolous, nay, many times, but mere pretended causes, publicly executed. Their confiscated goods helped to maintain a band of debauchees, which he had about him under the name of a guard. And yet he thought that his life was not sufficiently secured by them neither; so that he resolved to build a castle on the top of the hill Dunsinane, where there was a large prospect all over the country; which work proceeding but slowly, by reason of the difficulty of the carriage of materials thither, he laid it upon all the thanes of the kingdom; and so dividing the task amongst them, they were to find workmen and carriages, and to see that the labourers did their duty. At that time Macduff was the thane of Fife, a very powerful man in his

country. He, loath to venture his life in the king's hands, went not in person, but sent thither many workmen, and some of them his intimate friends, to press on the work. The king, either out of a desire (as was pretended) to see how the building proceeded, or else to apprehend Macduff, (as he himself feared,) came to view the structure, and by chance spying a yoke of Macduff's oxen not able to draw up their load against a steep hill, he willingly laid hold of that occasion to vent his passion against the thane, saying, "That he knew well enough before his disobedient temper, and therefore was resolved to punish it; and, to make him an example, he threatened to lay the yoke upon his own neck instead of his oxen." Macduff hearing of it, commended the care of his family to his wife, and without any delay, fitted up a small vessel, as well as the short time would permit, and so passed over into Lothian, and from thence into England. The king hearing that he intended to fly, made haste into Fife with a strong band of men, to prevent him; but he being departed before, the king was presently admitted into his castle, where he poured out all his fury upon the thane's wife and children, who were there present. His goods were confiscated, he himself was proclaimed a traitor; and a grievous punishment was threatened to any who dared to converse with, or entertain him. He exercised also great cruelty against others, if they were either noble or rich, without distinction. And from henceforth neglecting the nobility, he managed the government by his own counsels. In the meantime Macduff, arriving in England, found Malcolm there, royally treated by king Edward: for Edward, when the Danes power was broken in England, being recalled from banishment, favoured Malcolm, who was brought to him by Sibert, (his grandfather by the mother's side,) for many reasons; as either because his father and grandfather,

when governors of Cumberland, had always favoured the interest of Edward's ancestors as much as the times would permit them to do; or else because the similitude of events, and the remembrance of dangers gave them a likeness of disposition in their minds, for each king had been unjustly banished by tyrants; or, lastly, because the affliction of kings doth conciliate and move the minds, even of the greatest strangers, to pity and favour them. Whereupon the thane, as soon as he had opportunity to speak with Malcolm, in a long discourse declared to him the unhappy necessity of his flight, the cruelty of Macbeth against all ranks of men, with the universal hatred conceived against him. He advised Malcolm, in an accurate harangue, to endeavour the recovery of his father's kingdom; especially seeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of guilt, let the murder of his father pass unrevenge; nor neglect the miseries of the people which God had committed to his charge; nor, finally, ought he to shut his ears against the just petitions of his friends. Besides, he told him that king Edward was so gracious a prince, that he would not be wanting to him, his friend and suppliant; that the people did also favour him, and hated the tyrant; in fine, "That God's favour would attend the good against the impious, if he would not be wanting to himself. But Malcolm, who had often before been solicited to return, by messengers insidiously sent to him from Macbeth; that he might not be ensnared, before he committed so great a concern to fortune, resolved to try the faithfulness of Macduff, and therefore he framed his answer thus: "I know," says he, "that all you have said is true; but I am afraid that you, who invite me to undertake the regal government, do not at all know my disposition; for those vices which have already destroyed many kings, viz. lust and avarice, do almost reign even in me too; and though now my private fortune may hide and

disguise them, yet the liberty of a kingdom will let loose the reins of them both; and therefore," said he, "pray have a care that you invite me not rather to my ruin than a throne." When Macduff had replied to this, "That the lust and desire of many concubines might be prevented by a lawful marriage, and that avarice might be also bounded and forborne, when the fear of penury is removed." Malcolm subjoined, "That he had rather now make an ingenuous confession to him, as his friend, than to be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both. For myself, to deal plainly with you," said he, "there is no truth nor sincerity in me; I confide in nobody living, but I change my designs and counsels upon every blast of suspicion, and thus, from the inconstancy of my own disposition, I use to make a judgment of other men's." Then Macduff replied, "Avaunt, thou disgrace and prodigy of thy royal name and stock, worthier to be sent into the remotest desert than to be called to a throne;" and in a great anger he was about to fling away. Then Malcolm took him by the hand, and declared the cause of this his dissimulation to him, telling him, That he had been so often assaulted by the wiles of Macbeth, that he did not dare lightly to trust every body; but now he saw no cause to suspect any fraud in Macduff, in respect either of his lineage, his manners, fame, or fortune. Thus they plighting their faith to one another, consulted how to compass the destruction of the tyrant, and advised their friends of it by secret messages. King Edward assisted them with ten thousand men, over whom Sibert, Malcolm's grandfather by the mother's side, was made general. At the report of this army's march, there was a great combustion in Scotland, and many flocked in daily to the new king. Macbeth being deserted by almost all his men in so sudden a revolt, and not knowing what better course to take, shut himself

himself up in the castle of Dunsinane, and sent his friends into the Æbudæ, and into Ireland, with money to hire soldiers. Malcolm, understanding his design, makes up directly towards him, the people praying for him all along as he went, and with joyful acclamations wishing him good success. His soldiers took this as an omen of victory, and presently stuck green boughs in their helmets, representing an army coming back in triumph, rather than going to the battle. Macbeth, terrified at the confidence of his enemy, immediately fled; and his soldiers, forsaken by their leader, surrendered themselves to Malcolm. Some of our writers do here record many fables, which are like Milesian tales, and fitter for the stage than an history; and therefore I omit them. Macbeth reigned seventeen years. In the first ten he performed the duty of a very good king; in the last seven he equalled the cruelty of the worst of tyrants.

[3040] 1040

MALCOLM III. *the Eighty-sixth King.*

Malcolm having thus recovered his father's kingdom, was declared King at Scone the 25th day of April, in the year of our redemption 1057. At the very beginning of his reign, he convened an assembly of the estates at Forfar; where the first thing he did was to restore to the children their father's estates, who had been put to death by Macbeth. He is thought by some to have been the first that introduced new and foreign names, as distinctions of degrees in honour, which he borrowed from neighbouring nations, and no less barbarous than the former were: such as are Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, Riders or Knights. Macduff, the thane of Fife, was the first who had the title of Earl conferred upon him; and many others afterwards, according to their respective merits, were honoured with new titles. Some write, that at that

time noblemen began to be surnamed by their lands, I think is false, for that custom is not yet received amongst the ancient Scots; and besides, then all Scotland used their ancient language and customs, but instead of a surname they added their father's name after their own, like the Greeks of old, or else adjoined a word taken from some event, or from some mark of body or mind. And that this custom did then obtain amongst the French, is plain, by those royal surnames, of *le Gros*, the Fat, *le Chauve*, the Bald, *le Begue*, the Stammerer; and also by the surnames of many noble families in England, especially such as followed William the Conqueror, and fixed their habitations there: for the custom of taking surnames from lands, was received but lately amongst the other French, as appears by the history of Froissard, no mean author. "Macduff had three bequests granted him as a reward for his service: one, that his posterity should place the king who was to be crowned in the chair of state; another, that they should lead the van of the king's armies; and a third, that if any of his family were guilty of the unpremeditated slaughter of a gentleman, he should pay four-and-twenty merks of silver as a fine; if of a plebeian, twelve merks:" which last law was observed till the days of our fathers, as long as any man of that family was in being.

Whilst these things were transacted at Forfar, they who remained of the faction of Macbeth, carried his son Luthlac to Scone, (who was surnamed *Fatuous* from his want of wit), and there he was saluted king. Malcolm assaulted him in the valley Bogian, where he was slain, three months after he had usurped the name of king; yet, out of respect to his kingly race, his and his father's body were buried in the royal sepulchres in Iona. After this, he reigned four years in perfect peace; then word was brought him that a great troop of robbers were nested in Cockburn-forest, and that they infested

Lothian and March, to the great damage of the husbandmen. Patrick Dunbar, with some trouble, overcame them, losing forty of his own men in the onset, and killing six hundred of them. Forty more of them were taken prisoners and hanged. Patrick, for this exploit, was made Earl of March.

The kingdom was now so settled, that no open force could hurt the king; but he was attempted by private conspiracy. The whole plot was discovered to him; whereupon he sent for the head of the faction, who suspected nothing of the business, and after much familiar discourse he led him aside into a lonely valley, commanding his followers to stay behind. There he upbraided him with the former benefits bestowed on him, and declared to him the plot he had contrived against his life; adding further, "If thou hast courage enough, why dost thou not now set upon me, seeing that we are both armed, that so thou mayst obtain thy desire by valour, not by treachery?" The plotter being amazed at this sudden discovery, fell down on his knees and asked pardon of the king; who, being a merciful as well as a valiant prince, easily forgave him. Matthew Paris makes mention of this passage.

In the meantime, Edgar, to whom, after Edward, the crown of England belonged, being driven by contrary winds, came into Scotland with his whole family. That which I am to speak concerning this person, may not be well understood, except I fetch things a little higher.

Edmund, king of England, being slain by the treachery of his subjects, Canutus the Dane, who reigned over part of the island, presently seized upon the whole. At first he nobly treated Edward and Edmund, the sons of the deceased Edmund, when they were brought to him. Afterwards, instigated by wicked ambition, and desirous to confirm the kingdom to his own posterity by their destruction, he sent them away privately to Valgar,

governor of Swedeland, to be murdered there. Valgar understanding their noble birth, and considering their age and innocence, and taking compassion withal upon their condition and fortune, sent them to Hungary to king Solomon, pretending to Canutus that he had put them to death. There they were royally educated, and so much graceful towardliness appeared in Edward, that Solomon chose him out from amongst all his young nobles, to give him his daughter Agatha to wife. By her he had Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. In the meantime Canutus dying, Hardicanute succeeded him. When he was slain, Edward was recalled from Normandy, whither he was before banished, together with his brother, Alured. Earl Godwyn, a powerful man of English blood, but who had married the daughter of Canutus, was sent to fetch them home. He, desirous to transfer the kingdom into his own family, caused Alured to be poisoned : as for Edward, he was preserved rather by God's providence than by any human foresight, and reigned most devoutly in England : but wanting children, his chief care was to recall his kinsmen out of Hungary to undertake the government, affirming, that when Edgar returned, he would willingly surrender up all to him ; but his modesty out-did the king's piety, for he refused to accept of the kingdom as long as he was alive.

At length, upon Edward's death, Harold, Godwyn's son, invaded the throne, yet he dealt kindly with Agatha the Hungarian, and her children : But he being also overthrown by William the Norman, Edgar, to avoid William's cruelty, resolved, with his mother and sisters, to return into Hungary ; but, by a tempest he was driven into Scotland : there he was courteously entertained by Malcolm, who made him his kinsman also, by the marriage of his sister Margaret. William then reigning in England, upon every light occasion was very cruel

against the nobles, either of English or Danish extraction ; but, understanding what was a-doing in Scotland, and fearing that a tempest might arise from thence, he sent an herald to demand Edgar, denouncing war against Scotland unless he were surrendered up. Malcolm looked upon it as a cruel and faithless thing to deliver up his suppliant, guest, and kinsman, and one against whom his very enemies could object no crime, to his capital foe to be put to death, and therefore resolved to suffer any thing rather than do it : And accordingly he not only detained and harboured Edgar, but also gave admission to his friends, who, in great numbers were banished from their own homes, and gave them lands to live upon ; whose posterities were there propagated into many rich and opulent families. Upon this occasion a war ensued between the Scots and English, where Sibert, king of Northumberland, favouring Edgar, joined his forces with the Scots. The Norman, puffed up with the good success of his affairs, made light of the Scottish war, and thinking to end it in a short time, he sent one Roger, a nobleman of his own country, with forces into Northumberland ; but he being overcome and put to flight, was at last slain by his own men.

Then Richard, Earl of Gloucester, was sent with a greater army, but he could do but little good either ; for Patrick Dunbar wearied him out with light skirmishes, so that his men could not so much as straggle abroad for booty : at last Odo, William's brother, and Bishop of Bayonne, being made Earl of Kent, came down with a much greater strength ; he made great spoil in Northumberland, and slew some who thought to stop him from plundering : but as he was returning with a great booty, Malcolm and Sibert set upon him, slew and took many of his army, and recovered the prey. When his army was recruited, Robert, William's son, was sent down thither, but he made no great earnings of it neither ; only he

pitched his camp at the river Tyne, and rather defended himself, than carried on the war. In the meantime he repaired Newcastle, which was almost decayed by reason of its antiquity. William, being thus wearied with a war, more tedious than profitable, his courage being somewhat cooled, applied himself to thoughts of peace; which was made on these conditions, "That in Stanmore, *i. e.* a stony heath, (a name given it for that very cause), lying between Richmondshire and Cumberland, the bounds of both kingdoms should be fixed; and in the boundary a cross of stones should be erected, which should contain the statues and arms of the kings of both sides, (that cross, as long as it stood, was called King's Cross): that Malcolm should enjoy Cumberland on the same terms as his ancestors had held it." Edgar was also received into William's favour, and endowed with large revenues; and that he might prevent all occasion of suspicion of his innovating things, he never departed from the Court. Voldiosus also, the son of Sibert, was to have his father's estates restored to him; and, besides, he was admitted into affinity with the king, by marrying a niece of his, born of his daughter.

Tumults at home succeeded peace abroad: for the men of Galloway, and of the *Æbudæ*, did ravage and commit murders over all their neighbouring parts; and the Murray-men, with those of Ross, Caithness, and their allies, made a conspiracy, and taking in their neighbouring islanders to their aid, threatened the government with a dangerous war. Walter, the nephew of Bancho, by his son Fleanchus, who was before received into favour with the king, was sent against the Galloway-men, and Macduff against the other rebels, whilst the king himself was gathering greater forces. Walter slew the head of that faction, and so quelled the common soldiers, that the king at his return made him Lord Steward of all Scotland for his good service.

This officer was to gather in all the king's revenues; also he had a jurisdiction, such as the Sheriffs of counties have, and he is altogether the same with that which our ancestors called a Thane. But now-a-days, the English speech getting the better of our country language, the Thanes of counties are, in many places called Stewards; and he which was anciently called Abthane, is now the Lord High Steward of Scotland; though in some few places the name of Thane doth yet remain. From this Walter the name of the Stuarts, who have so long reigned over Scotland, took its beginning.

Macduff warring in the other province, when he came to the borders of Mar, the Marians promised a sum of money if he, would not enter into their lands; and he, fearing the multitude of the enemy, protracted the time in proposals and terms of a pretended peace, till the king arrived with greater forces. When they came to the village of Monymusk, they joined camps, and the king being troubled at the report of the enemy's numbers, promised to devote the village, whither he was going, to St Andrew the Apostle, the tutelar saint of Scotland, if he returned victor from that expedition. After a few removes, he came to the river Spey, the most violent current in all Scotland; where he beheld a greater number of soldiers than he thought could have been levied out of those countries, standing on the other side of the river, to hinder his passage. Upon that, the standard-bearer making an halt, and delaying to enter the river, he snatched the standard out of his hand, and gave it to one Alexander Carron, a knight of known valour, whose posterity had ever afterwards the honour of carrying the king's standard in the wars; and instead of Carron, the name of Scrimgeour was afterwards given to him, because he, full of true valour, though ignorant of the modes and niceties of fencing, had conquered one who was a master in handling of arms, and who valued himself highly

upon that account. As the king was entering the river, the priests, with the mitres on their heads, prevented him; who, by his permission, passing over to the enemy before, ended the war without blood. The nobles surrendered themselves upon quarter for life: those who were the most seditious, and the authors of the rising, were tried, had their goods confiscated, and themselves condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Peace being thus by his great industry obtained, both at home and abroad, he turned his pains and industry towards the reformation of the public manners; for he lived devoutly and piously himself, and invited others, by his example, to a modest, just, and sober life. It is thought that he was assisted in this by the counsel and monitions of his wife, a singular good woman, and eminent for piety. She omitted no office of humanity towards the poor, or the priests; neither did Agatha the mother, or Christiana the sister, come behind the queen in any religious duty; for because a nun's life was then accounted the great nourisher and maintainer of piety, both of them leaving the toilsome cares of the world, shut themselves up in monasteries appointed for virgins. The king, to the four former bishops of St Andrew's, Glasgow, Whitehorn, and Mortlach, (where the old discipline, by the bishops' sloth and default, was either remitted or laid quite aside,) added that of Murray and Caithness, procuring men pious and learned, as times went then, to fill the sees. And whereas luxury began likewise to abound in those days, in regard many English came in, and great commerce was carried on with foreign nations; and also many English exiles were entertained and scattered almost all over the kingdom, he laboured, though to little purpose, to restrain it. But he had the hardest task of all with the nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the practice of their ancient parsimony; for they, having once swallowed the

bait of pleasure, did not only grow worse and worse, but even ran headlong into debauchery; nay, they laboured to cover that foul vice under the false name of neatness, bravery, and gallantry. Malcolm, foreseeing that such courses would be the ruin, not only of religion, but also of military discipline, did, first of all, reform his own family very exactly; afterwards, he made most severe sumptuary laws, denouncing great punishment against the violators of them; yet, by those remedies, he rather stopped than cured the disease; nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his endeavours to work a thorough reformation. It is also reported, that his wife obtained of him, that whereas certain degrees and ranks of the nobility had obtained a privilege to lie the first night with a new-married bride, by the law of Eugenius, that custom should be altered, and the husband have liberty to redeem it by paying half a merk of silver, which payment is yet called *marcheta mulierum*.

Whilst Malcolm was thus busied in reforming the public manners, William, king of England, dies: his son, William Rufus, succeeded him. Peace could not long be continued between two kings of such different dispositions; for the king of the Scots chose that time to build two temples or cathedrals, one at Durham in England, the other at Dunfermline in Scotland; upon both which piles he bestowed great cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve church-affairs, which then began to flag and decay; and, withal, he translated Turgot, abbot of the monks at Durham, to the bishoprick of St Andrew's. This he did, whilst Rufus was plucking down towns and monasteries, and planting and making forests, that he might have the more room to hunt in. And when Anselm the Norman, then archbishop of Canterbury, did with freedom rebuke him for the same, he banished him the land: he also sought for an occasion of war against the Scots, and so surprised the castle of Alnwick in Northum-

berland, and slew the garrison there. Malcolm, having demanded restitution, but in vain, besieged the castle with a great army; they within being reduced to great extremity and want, talked of surrendering it, and desired the king to come and receive the keys with his own hand; which, as he was a-doing, being tendered to him on the point of a spear, the soldier run him into the eye, and killed him. And his son Edward also being very forward to revenge his father's death, and accordingly the more negligent of his own safety, made an unwary assault upon the enemy, wherein he received a wound of which he died soon after. The Scots being afflicted and troubled at this double slaughter of two of their kings, broke up the siege, and returned home. Margaret did not long survive her husband and son, but died of grief. The bodies of these kings, which at first were buried at Tynemouth, (a monastery at the mouth of Tyne,) were afterwards brought to Dunfermline. Malcolm held the kingdom thirty-six years, being noted for no vice, but famous to posterity for his great and many virtues. He had six sons by his wife Margaret, of whom Edward was slain by the English in the siege of Alnwick castle: Edmund and Ethelred were banished into England by their uncle Donald, where they died; the other three, Edgar, Athelred, and David, succeeded in the kingdom one after another. He also had two daughters; the elder, Maud, surnamed the Good, married Henry, king of England; the younger, named Mary, had Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, for her husband. Several prodigies happened in those days, and in particular there was such an unusual inundation of the German Ocean, that it did not only drown the fields and country, and choked them up with sand, but also overthrew villages, towns, and castles; and besides, there were great and terrible thunders, and more were killed with thunderbolts than were ever recorded to have perished by that death in Britain before.

DONALDUS VII. *surnamed Banus, the Eighty-seventh King, (A. C. 1093.)*

Upon the death of Malcolm, Donaldus Banus, (*i. e.* the White,) his brother, who, for fear of Macbeth, had fled into the Æbudæ, was, without meeting with the least difficulty or opposition, at first declared king; for he had promised all the islands to Magnus, king of Norway, if, by his assistance, he might enjoy the kingdom of Scotland. And, in this his obtaining of the kingdom, those were most assistant to him, who did falsely accuse the former king for corrupting the discipline of his ancestors; and, withal, who were vexed that the banished English should enjoy the estates of Scots in Scotland. Edgar, in such a sudden change of affairs, being afraid and solicitous for his sister's children, which were yet but young, caused them to be brought over to him into England. But this piety of the good man was calumniated by some; for Orgarus, an Englishman, seeking to win favour with king Rufus, accused him, "That he had secretly boasted, that he and his kindred were lawful heirs to the crown." The accuser was not able to make good his allegation by any witnesses; and therefore the matter was adjudged to be decided by a duel; wherein the accuser was overcome by another Englishman, who offered him the combat instead of Edgar, who was now grown old, and also sickly. All good men who had a veneration for the memory of Malcolm and Margaret, hated Donald; who, by foreign aid, in conjunction with those of his own faction, had seized on the kingdom; and he, by his rashness, did much increase the hatred conceived against him, and by severe threats which he uttered amongst his familiars against the nobles, who would not swear allegiance to him. And therefore they sent for Duncan, a base-born son of Malcolm's, who had served

long with credit in the wars under William Rufus, to oppose Donald. At his coming, many revolted from Donald; so that he was diffident of his own state, and therefore fled into the Æbudæ about six months after he had usurped the throne.

DUNCAN II. *the Eighty-eighth King.*

Neither did Duncan reign long; for he being a military man, and not so skilful in the arts of peace, carried it more imperiously than a peaceable and civil government required; so that he quickly got the hatred of the majority of his subjects. When Donaldus, who observed all his motions, heard of it in his banishment, he corrupted Macpender, Earl of Mearn, and by him caused Duncan to be slain in the night at Monteith, a year and six months after he began to reign. As for Donald, he governed a troublesome kingdom for about three years; good men rather tolerating him, (for want of a better,) than approving him. The English on the one side, and the islanders on the other, in his time much molested Scotland. The envy also against him was heighened, in that Magnus, king of Norway, had seized on the western islands; which, though he seemed to have done by force, yet all men smelled out the cheat, in regard Donald did not so much as stir at so great an affront. And at last the public indignation grew warmer and warmer against him, when the vulgar understood that it was done by a secret agreement betwixt him and Magnus.

EDGAR, *the Eighty-ninth King.*

Upon these disgusts secret messengers were dispatched to Edgar, Malcolm's son, that he would come over and be general, in order to obtain the kingdom; and as soon as he appeared upon the borders, they promised to flock in to him. And they

were as good as their word; for Edgar being assisted with a small force by Rufus, at the instance of Edgar his uncle, had scarce entered Scotland, before Donald, being abandoned by his men, fled away; but he was pursued, taken, and brought back to Edgar, who committed him to prison, where he died soon after. Edgar having recovered the kingdom by the general suffrage of all the estates, he in the first place made peace with William, King of England; and when he died without children, he renewed it with Henry his brother. He gave him Maud, his sister, to wife, surnamed the Good, from her virtuous manners, as I said before: By whom he had William, Richard, Euphemia, and Maud. Edgar reigned nine years and six months in great peace, revered and beloved by good men; and so formidable to the bad, that in all his reign there were no civil tumults or seditions, nor any fear of a foreign enemy. One monument of his public works; was the monastery of Coldingham, dedicated to St Ebb the virgin, which he built in the seventh year of his reign; though afterwards it was changed into the name of Cuthbert.

ALEXANDER I. *the Ninetieth King.*

Edgar dying without issue, his brother Alexander, surnamed Acer, or the Sharp, succeeded him. In the very beginning of his reign, some young men who loved to be fishing in troubled waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable (or, as they interpreted it, a sluggish) king, as his brother was, conspired to take away his life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater freedom: but the matter was discovered to him, and he pursued the conspirators to the farthest part of Ross. When they came to the river Spey, they thought to stop the king's pursuit, by reason of the rapidity of the river; and besides, the king's friends would not suffer him to

attempt the river, because, the tide coming in, they judged it impassable, yet he set spurs to his horse, and was about to pass over. The rest, lest they might seem to forsake their king in a danger so great, were his followers; but his own men (as I said) drew him back; so that he sent over part of his army, under the command of Alexander Carron, the son of that Alexander I mentioned before, whose miraculous boldness in passing the river with his forces, struck such a terror into the enemy, that they presently betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit; their leaders were then taken, or else afterwards brought to the king, and were all executed on a gallows.

This expedition procured him peace, even to the end of his life. As he was returning through Mearn, a poor woman met him, grievously complaining that her husband had been scourged with a whip of thongs, by the Earl of Mearn's son, because he had sued him for a debt. The King hearing it, presently, in great disdain, leaped from his horse, and would not stir from the place till the offender had received condign punishment; and so he returned to Invergowrie, or, as some write, to Baledgary, Edgar's town. Some write, that the surname of Acer was given him for those exploits; but others say, it had a more tragic original, viz. That some thieves having corrupted one of his bed-chamber, were privately admitted in whilst he was asleep; and that, awakened by their sudden rushing in, he first slew his treacherous servant, and afterwards six of the thieves. This raised a great clamour in the court, and the rest fled; but Alexander pursued them so fiercely, that most of them were slain. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to the works of peace; he built St Michael's church in Scone from the very ground: the college of priests which was there, he turned into a monastery for monks. Being once surprised in a tempest, and driven into

the isle Æmona, he was there reduced to great want and hunger; for neither he nor his companions could procure any food for some days, but what they got from one of those that lived solitary lives, commonly called hermits. He built also a church there, in memory of St Columb, supplying it with canons, as they call them, and lands to maintain them. He also gave great gifts and largesses, and settled lands on St Andrew's, which was rich enough before. He finished the church of Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and endowed it with revenues.

After these transactions in peace and war, when he had reigned seventeen years, he departed this life, leaving no children by Sibyl his wife, daughter of William the Norman.

DAVID I. *the Ninety-first King.*

His brother David succeeded him in the kingdom, in the year of Christ 1124. He seeing that his brothers reigned successively, one after another in Scotland, staid with his sister Maud in England. There he married his cousin Maud, a woman of great beauty, wealth, and nobility; for Voldiosus Earl of Northumberland was her father, and her mother was Judith, niece to William the Norman. He had a son by her named Henry, in whom both his father's and mother's disposition did presently appear. Upon this marriage his revenues were much increased by the accession of Northumberland and Huntingdonshire to the lands he enjoyed before. Thus, with the universal gratulation of his subjects, he came into Scotland to possess the kingdom. It is true, the memory of his parents was of great force to procure him the favour of the people; yet his own virtue was such, that he stood in no need of any adventitious help: for, as in other virtues, he equalled other good kings, so, in his condescension to hear the causes of the poor, he was much superior to

them. As for the complaints of the rich, he heard them himself; and if a false judgment had been given, he would not set it aside, but compelled the judge himself to pay the damages awarded. He restrained luxury, which then began to spread, according to the example of his father. He banished epicures, and such as studied arts to provoke the appetite, out of the kingdom. He far exceeded the beneficence of his parents and kindred, (which were worthy rather of pardon than praise), in increasing the revenues of the church. He repaired monasteries, whether decayed by age, or ruined by the wars, and he also built new ones from the ground: to the six bishopricks which he founded, he added four more, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. He almost impoverished the succeeding kings to endow them, for he bestowed upon them a great part of the crown-lands. Johannes Major, who, when I was but a youth, was famous for his theological studies, having highly praised this king for his other actions; yet he blames his profuse lavishness in endowing monasteries in a solemn (and I wish it had been an undeserved) oration. And I the more wonder at this immoderate profusion of the public money and patrimony; because in those very times St. Bernard sharply reproves the priests and monks in his severe sermons for their excessive luxury and expence; which yet, if compared with that of our age, seems but moderate. The fruits which followed these donations, shew that the design was not well grounded: for as in bodies too corpulent, the use of all the members ceases; so the sparks of wit, oppressed by luxury, languished in abbeys. The study of learning was quite left off, piety degenerated into superstition, and the seeds of all vices sprung up in them, as in an uncultivated field. All the time of his reign he had but one domestic commotion, and that was rather a tumult than a civil war; and it was quickly ended in the slaughter of Æneas

Earl of Murray, with a great number of his followers. Malcolm Macbeth endeavouring to raise a new sedition, was committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh. Other matters succeeded according to his desire, but yet a double calamity fell upon him. One from the untimely death of his wife; the other, of his son. As for his wife, Maud, she was a woman of high descent, of exquisite beauty, and most accomplished manners; he loved her passionately whilst she lived, and the loss of her in the flower of her age did so affect him, that for twenty years after, he lived a widower, neither did he touch any other woman all that while; and yet the greatness of his sorrow was no hindrance to him from managing the public offices and concerns, both of peace and war. Concerning his son I will speak in due place.

David thus addicted himself to the arts of peace, but some troublesome matters in England drew him unwillingly into a war. The occasion was this: All the offspring of King Henry of England, except his daughter Maud, were drowned in their passage from France into England; which misfortune so grieved him, that, (it is reported) he was never seen to laugh after that time. Maud, who only survived and escaped that calamity, married the Emperor Henry the Fourth. Her husband dying without children, she returned into England to her father. He was willing to settle the succession on her, and in order to it, because she was a widow and childless, and considering his own mortality, he caused all the nobility to swear an oath of fealty to her; and in hopes that she might have children, he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou. Five years after that marriage, Robert Duke of Normandy, and King Henry died; and Geoffrey of Anjou, falling into a dangerous disease, lay bed-ridden.

In the mean time Stephen Earl of Boulogne, in this want of royal issue, took heart to assume the crown of England: Neither did he look upon it as a design of any great difficulty, both by reason of the weakness of the adverse party, and also because he himself had some royal blood running in his veins: for he was born of a daughter of William the Norman, which had married the Earl of Blois. He himself had also married Maud, daughter of the former Earl of Boulogne, and cousin-german to Maud the Empress, and born of Mary, sister to David King of Scotland. Upon the confidence of so great alliances, by reason of the absence of Maud the Queen, and the sickness of Geoffrey, he thought he might easily obtain the crown of England. And to make his way clearer, without any conscience or regard of his oath, which he and the other kindred had taken to Queen Maud, he drew in, by great promises, the bishops of England, who had also taken the same oath, into his unlawful design; and especially William archbishop of York, who was the first that swore allegiance to Queen Maud; and Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had not only taken the oath himself, but had also read the words of it to the other nobles when they took it.

Upon this confidence, even before his uncle Henry was buried, he stepped into the throne, and the two first years reigned peaceably enough; whereupon growing insolent, he began to neglect his agreement made with the English, and also to deal arrogantly with his neighbours. After he had compelled all the English, partly by fear, and partly by fair promises, to take an oath of allegiance to him, he sent ambassadors to David King of Scots, to put him in mind to take the same oath, for the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland and Huntingdon, which he held of him. David returned answer, that he, together with Stephen himself, and the other nobles of England, had, not long since, bound themselves by

an oath to obey Maud, their lawful queen; and that he ought not, nor would acknowledge any other monarch as long as she was alive. When this answer was brought to Stephen, presently a war began. The English entered upon the adjacent Scots with fire and sword, the Scots doing as much for them. The next year an army of Scots, under the conduct of the Earls of March, of Monteith and of Angus, entered England, and met the English at the town of Allerton, whose general was the Earl of Gloucester. A sharp battle was there fought with equal slaughter on both sides, as long as both armies stood to it; at last, the English being overthrown, many perished in the flight, and many of the nobility were taken prisoners, amongst whom was the Earl of Gloucester himself. Stephen, very much concerned at this overthrow, and fearing it might otherwise alienate from him the affections of the friends and kindred of the captive nobles, refused no conditions of peace. The terms were these, "That the English
"prisoners should be released without ransom; that
"Stephen should quit the claim which, as chief lord,
"he pretended to have over Cumberland." But Stephen observed those conditions no better than he did the oath formerly taken to Maud, his kinswoman; for before the armies were quite disbanded, and the prisoners released, he privately surprised some castles in Northumberland, and, by driving away booties from the Scots countries, renewed the war. The Scots, quickly gathering an army together in the neighbouring provinces, and despising the English, whom they had overthrown in battle the self-same year, ran rashly on to the conflict at the river Tees; where they paid for their folly of undervaluing the enemy, and received a signal overthrow; they were likewise compelled to quit Northumberland. David, to retrieve this loss and ignominy, gathered as great an army as ever he could together, and came to Roxburgh. Thither Turstan archbi-

shop of York, or (as William of Newbury calls him), Trustinus, was sent by the English to treat concerning a pacification; and there being some hope of agreement, a truce was made for three months, upon condition, “that Northumberland should be presently restored to the Scots.” But this promise, which was made by Stephen, only to have the army disbanded, was not promised; so that David drove away a great booty out of that part of Northumberland which obeyed Stephen; and Stephen, gathering a great force together, pierced as far as Roxburgh; but understanding that the nobility were averse, and complained that they were involved in an unjust and unnecessary war, without performing any memorable exploit, he retired into the heart of his kingdom: and the next year, fearing some intestine sedition, he sent his wife Maud to David her uncle, to treat of peace. Upon her mediation it was accorded, that David from Newcastle, where he commonly resided, and Stephen from Durham, should send arbitrators for composing of matters, to the town of Chester in the Street, situated in the mid-way equally distant from both places. David sent the archbishops of St Andrew’s and Glasgow; Stephen, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Both parties were the more inclinable to peace, because Stephen feared war from abroad, and seditions at home; and the Scots complained that they were forced to bear the shock of a war made in the behalf of another; whereas Maud, for whose sake it was commenced, did nothing at all in it. The peace was made on these conditions: “That Cumberland, as by ancient right, should be possessed by David, and that Northumberland unto the river Tees, (as William of Newbury the Englishman, writes), and Huntingdonshire, should be enjoyed by Henry, David’s son, as his mother’s inheritance; and that he should do homage to Stephen for the same.” When things were thus composed, David retired into Cumberland, and

Stephen into Kent. This peace was made in the year of our Lord 1139, in which year Maud being returned to England, sent her son Henry, afterwards King of England, to Carlisle, to David his great-uncle, that he might be instructed in feats of arms, and likewise advanced by him to the dignity of knighthood; who, without doubt, was the most excellent knight of his time; and that dignity was, in those days, conferred with a great deal of ceremony.

At that time there was so great disturbance in England, by reason of domestic discords, that no part of it was free from civil war, but that which was in the hands of David, King of Scots; and that he alone might not plead exemption from the public calamity, within three years after, his son, the only heir (in hope) of so much power and felicity, died in the flower of his age, leaving three sons and as many daughters. He died so greatly in the love and affection both of the Scots and English, that, besides the public loss, every one lamented his death as his own private misfortune; for so great sincerity and moderation of mind shone forth in him, even in that age when youth is accustomed to play the wanton, that every body expected most rare and singular fruits from his disposition when it was ripened by age. His father's grief was also farther increased, by reason of the tender age of his grand-children, and the ambitious and restless disposition of Stephen; and if he died, he was concerned for the fierceness of Henry's spirit, then in the fervour of his youth, who, being the son of Maud, was to succeed in the kingdom. When the thoughts of so many foreseen mischiefs assaulted his diseased and feeble mind, insomuch that all men imagined he would have sunk under them, yet he bore up so stoutly, that he invited some of the prime nobility (who were solicitous for him, lest he should be too much afflicted, as well they might), to supper, and there he entertained them with a discourse rather like a comforter than a

mourner. He told them, "That no new thing had happened to them, or to his son. That he had long since learned from the sermons of holy and learned men, that the world was governed by the providence of almighty God, whom it was a foolish and impious thing to endeavour to resist: that he was not ignorant his son was born on no other terms to live, but that he must as certainly die, and so pay that debt to nature which he owed even at his very birth; and if men were but always ready to pay that debt, it was no great matter when God, their great creditor, called upon them for it; that if only wicked men were subject to death, then a man might justly grieve at the decease of his kindred; but when we see good men also die, all Christians (said he) ought to be thoroughly settled in this persuasion, that no evil can happen to the good, either alive or dead; and therefore why should we be so much troubled at a short separation, especially from our kindred, who have not so much left us, as they are gone before us, to our common country; whither we too, though we should live never so long, must yet at last follow? As for my son, if he hath taken this voyage before us, that so he might visit and enjoy the fellowship of my parents and brethren, those precious men, somewhat earlier than ourselves; if we are troubled at it, let us take heed that we seem not rather to envy his happiness than to mourn for our own loss. As for you, worthy Lords, as I am beholden to you for many offices of respect, so both I and my son (for I shall undertake also for him), are much obliged for your love to me, and your grateful and pious memory of him."

This greatness of mind in the king, as it added much to the veneration that was paid to his royal person, so it increased the sense of the loss of his son in the minds of all, when they considered what a prince they and their children were deprived of. And David, that he might make use of the only

way of consolation which was left him, caused his son's children to be brought to him, and to be trained up in court-discipline, which was then most pious. In fine, he provided for their security as far as the wit of man or human foresight could provide. He commended Malcolm, the eldest of the three, to the care of the whole nobility, and particularly of Macduff, Earl of Fife, a very powerful and prudent man; and he caused him to carry him all over the land, that so he might be received as the undoubted heir of the kingdom: William, the next son, he constituted Earl of Northumberland, and put him into the immediate possession of that county; he created David, the third son, Earl of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland. He made the more haste to prefer them, because, lingering under a disease that was judged to be mortal, he foresaw his time could not be long in this world. He died in the year of Christ 1153, the 24th day of May. He was so well beloved, that all men thought in him they had lost rather a father, nay, rather the best of fathers than a king; for though his whole life was so devout, as no history records the like, yet some few years before his death he devoted himself particularly to the preparation for his latter end; so that his deportment then very much increased men's veneration for the former part of his life. For though he equalled his royal predecessors, who were most praise-worthy, in the art of war, and excelled them in the study of peace; yet now leaving off contending with others for superiority in virtue, he maintained a combat with himself alone, wherein he advanced so much, that if the highest and most learned wits should endeavour to give the idea or pattern of a good king, they could never comprehend in their thoughts such an exemplary prince as David shewed himself in his whole life

to be. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days.

MALCOLM IV. *the Ninety-second King.*

His grandson Malcolm succeeded him, who, though then under age, gave great hopes of his future ingenuity. For he was so educated by his father and grandfather, that he seemed to resemble them as much in the virtues of his mind, as in the lineaments of his body. In the beginning of his reign a great famine raged all over Scotland, by which great numbers of men and cattle were destroyed. At that time, one Somerled was thane of Argyle, whose fortune was above his family, and his mind above his fortune. He, conceiving some hopes to enjoy the kingdom, by reason of the king's nonage, and the present calamity, gathered a band of his confidants together, and invaded the adjacent countries. The mighty havock he made was spoken of far and near; and the fear of him spreading itself farther, many bad men coming in to him, and some good being forced to join with him too, in a short time he made up a vast army. Upon the report of this tumult, Donald also, the son of Malcolm Macbeth, made another commotion; but being taken at Whitehorn, in Galloway, and sent to the king, he was committed to the same prison with his father; but soon after the king was reconciled to them, and they were both released. Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, was sent with an army against Somerled, who defeated and killed many of his men, and caused him, with some few more, to fly into Ireland. This victory, thus unexpectedly and suddenly obtained, produced tranquillity at home, but envy abroad; for Henry King of England, an ambitious prince, and desirous to enlarge his own dominions, resolved with himself to curb the growing greatness and power of Malcolm; but he could not

well make open war upon him, out of conscience of that covenant and oath which he had sworn to him; for when he received the military girdle (as the custom is) from King David, Malcolm's grandfather, at Carlisle, he promised and took his oath on it, (as William of Newbury, besides our own writers, say,) "That he would never go about either to deprive David himself, or any of his posterity, of any part of those possessions which David then held in England." He, being bound up by his oath, that he might find out some colour for his calumnies, resolved to try the king's patience in a less affair. When John Bishop of Glasgow was dedicating churches, shaving priests, and performing the other parts of his episcopal office, (as then they were judged to be,) all over Cumberland; Henry, by Turstan Archbishop of York, sent a new bishop into that country, called the Bishop of Carlisle. John was so moved at the injury, that seeing no sufficient safeguard, neither in the king nor in the law, he left his bishoprick, and retired into the monastery of Tours in France; whence he returned not, until the Pope, at Malcolm's request, drew him unwillingly out of his cell, and made him return to his own country. Malcolm bore the wrong better than some hoped; so that not thinking it a sufficient cause for a war, he went to Chester in the Street, there to quiet suspicions, and to cut off occasions of discord. Being arrived there, by the fraud of Henry he was circumvented, and made to take an oath of fidelity to him; whereas it was not the king himself, but his brothers, who had lands in England, according to an old agreement, who were to take that oath: but this was craftily and maliciously devised by the English king, to sow the seed of discord amongst brethren; which the following year did more fully appear, when he decoyed Malcolm out of Northumberland, which was his brother William's patrimony. For he sent for

him to London, that, according to the examples of his ancestors, he, in a public assembly, might acknowledge himself his feudatory for the lands which he held in England. He, under covert of the public faith, came speedily thither ; but without doing any thing of that for which his journey was pretended, he was forced against his will, with that little retinue which he had, to accompany Henry into France. Henry's design in this was partly that the Scots might not attempt any thing against him during his absence, and partly to alienate the mind of Louis King of France from them. Thus Malcolm was compelled, for fear of a greater mischief, to go against his old friend, and was not suffered to come back to his own country, till King Henry, having made no great advantages of the French war, did likewise return home. Then Malcolm obtained leave to return to Scotland, where, in a convention of the nobility, he declared to them the adventure of his travels ; but he found a great part of them very much incensed, that he had joined with a certain enemy against an old and trusty friend, and did not foresee the artifices by which Henry had gulled him. The king, on the other side, alleged, that he was carried unwillingly into France, by a king in whose power he was, and to whom he dared to deny nothing at that time ; and therefore he did not despair, but the French would be satisfied and appeased when they understood he was hurried thither by force, and carried none of his country forces along with him. This harangue, with much ado, quieted the sedition for the present, which was almost ready to break out.

But Henry, who had spies every where, knew that the tumult was rather suspended, than that the minds of the people were reconciled to Malcolm, and therefore he summoned him to come to a convention at York. There he was accused of a pretended crime, that the English had been worsted in

France principally by his means; and, therefore, it was referred to the assembly, whether he ought not to lose all the countries which he held in England. Though he answered all the objected crimes, and fully cleared himself, yet he found all their ears shut against him, as being prepossessed by the fears or favour of the king, so that a decree was made in favour of Henry; neither was he contented with this injury, but he also suborned some persons fit for his purpose, to report it abroad, "That Malcolm had freely, and of his own accord, quitted his interest in those countries." At which his subjects, the Scots, were so incensed, that at his return home they besieged him in Perth, and had almost taken him; but, by the intervention of some great men, their anger was a little abated, when he had informed the nobility how unjustly and fraudulently Henry had despoiled him of his ancient patrimony. This made them unanimously agree upon a war, that so he might recover by just arms what was unlawfully taken from him by force. Accordingly, a war was resolved upon, declared, and actually begun, not without great inconveniencies to both nations. At last both kings came to a conference not far from Carlisle, and after much dispute on both sides, Henry took away Northumberland from Malcolm, leaving him Cumberland and Huntingdonshire. Henry had no other pretence for his ambitious avarice but this, that he could not suffer so great a diminution to be made of his kingdom; but, seeing no respect to justice and right, no agreements, no covenants, nor even the solemnity of an oath, could restrain the insatiable avarice of Henry, Malcolm, being a man of low spirit, and too desirous of peace, upon any conditions whatever, accepted of his terms, though greatly to the dissatisfaction of the Scots nobility; "They denying that the king could alienate any part of his dominions, without the general consent of the estates."

After this the king began to be despised by his subjects, as not having fortitude or prudence enough to wield the sceptre; neither did any thing bridle their fierce minds from rising in arms, but a greater fear from Henry; who, they knew, aimed at the conquest of the whole island, being encouraged thereunto by the simplicity of Malcolm, and the hopes of foreign aid. This general disaffection to the king did much lessen the reverence of his government. A rebellion was first begun by Angusius, or rather Æneas, of Galloway, a potent man, but yet who promised himself more from the king's sloth than his own power. Gilchrist was sent against him, who overthrew him in three fights, and compelled him to take sanctuary in the monastery of Whitehorn, out of which it was not counted lawful to take him by force; and, therefore, after a long siege, being driven to the want of all necessities, he was forced to capitulate. He was to lose part of his estate for his punishment, and his son was to be given as an hostage for his good behaviour for the future; but he, being of a lofty spirit, and not able to endure this abatement of his former greatness, turned monk, shaved himself, and shut himself up in a monastery near Edinburgh, to avoid the shame and scorn of men. Neither was there peace in other parts of the realm; for the Murray-men, being always given to mutinying, rose in arms under Gildo, or rather Gildominick, their captain, and did not only spoil all the countries round about, but when heralds of arms were sent from the king, they most barbarously slew them. Gilchrist was sent out against them also, with a greater army, but with unlike success; for the valour of an adversary, which is wont to be a terror to other rebels, drove those wicked persons, conscious of their own demerits, to desperation; and, therefore, endeavouring to sell their lives as dear as they could, they routed the opposite army, and became conquerors. Mal-

colm, upon this overthrow, recruited his old army, and marched into Murray, and met the Murray-men at the mouth of the river Spey; who, though they knew that the king's forces were increased, and their's diminished in the late fight, yet, being encouraged by the advantage of the place, and their newly-obtained victory, they resolved to adventure a battle. The fight was carried on with great resolution, and no less slaughter; for the Moravians gave not back till the king's forces being wearied, had new relief from reserves sent them; then the Moravians were broken, and there was no more fighting, but killing. The fury of the soldiers spared no age nor rank of men. In this fight the old Moravians were almost all slain; which punishment, though cruel, seemed not to be undeserved; and the greatness of the revenge was allayed and made excuseable by the savage cruelty of that perfidious people against others. Hereupon, new colonies were sent into the lands of the slain.

Neither did Somerled, in this storm of government, think fit to sit still. He, as I said before, after his overthrow, fled into Ireland, and from that time forward exercised piracy upon the coasts of Scotland; but now judging that a great part of the military men being slain in battle, he might either get a rich booty from those who would shun the hazard of fighting, or else a cheap and easy victory from them who would stand to it, gathered a great band of roysters together, and arriving at the frith or bay of the river Clyde, there made a descent on the left side of it; and fortune at first favouring his design, he penetrated as far as Renfrew; but there, while he was more intent on plunder than on the safety of his men, he was surprised by a far less number than his own, and lost all his soldiers, he himself being saved, and brought alive to the king for farther scorn and punishment; though

some say, that both he and his son were slain in the battle. These things were acted about the year of Christ 1163.

The kingdom being thus freed from all tumults, an assembly of all the estates was summoned at Scone, where many things were decreed for the confirmation of the state of the kingdom; and amongst the rest, the whole assembly unanimously made it their request to the king, "That he would think of marriage, in regard he was now fit for it, as being above twenty-two years of age, that by that means he might have children to succeed him." They told him, "It was a public debt due to the kingdom, as well as a private one to his family; and that he ought to mind not only the present time, but to have a prospect to the tranquillity of future ages too." His answer was, "That ever since he had been capable to order and direct his own life, he had solemnly vowed to God to live a continent, and a bachelor's life; which vow," said he, "I think, was the more acceptable to God, both because he gave me the strength to perform it, and also, because he hath prepared heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my vow, neither by any weakness of my own spirit, nor by any other public necessity." Thus, dismissing the parliament, having peace abroad, he applied his mind to the arts of his forefathers, *i. e.* building of churches, and donations to monks, wherein he seemed likely to have far exceeded his ancestors, if God had given him a longer life: for he died not long after, on the ninth day of December, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and a little more than the twelfth year of his reign, and in the year of our redemption, 1165.

WILLIAM, the Ninety-third King.

His brother William succeeded him, who entered upon the kingdom fifteen days after Malcolm's death. He would transact no public or private business of any weight, till he had craved of Henry of England the restitution of Northumberland. Henry commanded him to come to London to do him homage for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon, according to custom; which he did not unwillingly, yet desisted not from pressing to have Northumberland restored. Henry gave him an ambiguous answer, saying, "That in regard Northumberland was taken away from Malcolm, and given to him by the states of the kingdom, he could not part from it without their consent; but he should come to the next parliament, and there expect justice to be done." William, though he expected no good from the parliament, yet, to cut off all occasions of calumny from his adversary, resolved to wait in England for the convening and opening of it; and in the mean time, though with no very good will, he accompanied Henry to the war in France. There he profited nothing by his daily solicitations, and foreseeing that the king would not speedily return into England, with much ado he obtained a convoy, and returned into Scotland. After his return, the first thing he did was to repress the insolence of thieves and robbers, by punishing and clearing the country of those offenders; then he erected castles, and placed garrisons in convenient places, to prevent sudden invasions. At last he sent ambassadors into England, to demand Northumberland, denouncing war in case of refusal. Henry being entangled in the French war, yielded up to him that part of Northumberland which William's great-grandfather held. William took it, but on this condition, that he would not remit his right in, or claim

to the rest. The English King took this very ill, and being sorry he had parted with any part of Northumberland before the controversy was decided, he made incursions into the Scots borders, and thus sowed the seeds of a new war; and by this means, he hoped to have taken away also the other lands, which he would have brought into dispute. When right was claimed by the wardens of the marches, according to custom, the English complained that their borders were molested by Scottish robbers; so that the ambassadors were sent away, without obtaining the thing they came for, nay, almost without an answer. The Scots, to obtain that by force which they could not do by fair means, levied an army, and entered upon and wasted the bordering lands of the English with fire and sword. This being about harvest, the English, in the absence of their king, were content only to stand upon the defensive what they could, but then levied no army, yet the winter following some action passed, and many incursions were made. The next summer William listed a great army, and marched into the enemy's country; the English having few or no forces ready to withstand them, sent ambassadors to their camp, proffering a great sum of money for a truce; which, if they could obtain, they gave hopes that all things would be accorded to content. William being a plain-hearted man, and willing to preserve peace, if obtainable upon reasonable conditions, before a war, though a just one, gave credit to their fallacious promises. The English spent all the time of the cessation in preparations for war; but in the mean time they plied the Scots with ambassadors, who made large promises, though their true errand was to discover their enemy's camp; and finding the Scots, in confidence of the truce, remiss and negligent, and the greatest part of their army scattered to get in forage, they returned, and gave their army notice, that now was a fair opportunity for ac-

tion, which they urged them not to omit; whereupon, placing the greatest part of their army in ambush, about four hundred nimble horsemen in the third watch, a few hours before sun-rising, marched directly to Alnwick, where the Scots camp was pitched. There finding greater opportunity for action than they expected, they set upon the king who was riding up and down, (with sixty horse only, as if there had been a settled peace), and before it could well be discerned whether they were friends or enemies, (for they disguised themselves with Scots arms and ensigns, that they might pass for Scots), they took him prisoner in the ninth year of his reign. Some few were roused up at the report, and pursued in a scattered manner; divers of them rushed amongst their enemies, as not being willing to forsake their king, and so were made prisoners themselves. William was carried to Henry, then warring in France. The English, elated with this unexpected success, invaded Cumberland, thinking to carry it without blows; but Gilchrist and Rolland, two Scots commanders, did so entertain them, that being repulsed, they made a truce, and were content to enjoy Northumberland only, as long as the Scots king was a prisoner, and to leave Cumberland and Huntingdonshire to the free possession of the Scots.

In the mean time David, the brother of William, Earl of Huntingdon in England, and Garioch in Scotland, who then fought under the English banners, received a convoy, and returned into Scotland; where having settled things for the present, he sent ambassadors into England about the redemption of his brother, who was then kept prisoner at Falise, a town in Normandy. The king gave fifteen hostages to the English; and surrendered up four castles, viz. the castle of Roxburgh, of Berwick, of Edinburgh, and of Stirling, and then he was permitted to return home on the 1st of February; but then he was called upon by the English to appear at York,

with his nobles and bishops, on the 15th day of August. Being arrived there, he and all his followers (who were the chief nobility) took an oath of obedience to King Henry, and gave up the kingdom of Scotland into his guardianship and patronage. These conditions, though very hard, yet the Scots were willing to accept of, that so they might have the best of kings restored to them, as the English writers say. Thomas Walsingham of England writes, that this surrender was not made at York, but at Constance: yet some say that this interview of both kings was not in order to the surrender of the kingdom, but for the payment of certain pecuniary pensions; and that the castles were put into the hands of the English as cautioners only, till the money was paid. This opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the league renewed with Richard, Henry's son, of which in its due place.

William, at his return, in a few months, by Gilchrist his general, quelled the insurrections made in his absence in Galloway. On the 28th of January there was an assembly summoned at Norham by Tweed; thither William came; where the English laboured extremely, that all the Scots bishops should acknowledge the bishop of York for their metropolitan; the Pope's legate also concurred with them in their desire, and earnestly pressed that it might be so enacted. After a long dispute, the Scots answered, that at present few of their countrymen were there, and that they could not bind the absent to obey their decree, if they should consent to any. Upon this the matter was deferred to another time; and shortly after the Scots bishops sent agents to Rome, to justify their cause before Alexander III. by whose decree the bishops of Scotland were freed from the yoke of the English, and so the messengers returned joyfully home. Not long after, Gilchrist, whom I have often mentioned before, slew his wife, who was the king's sister, because she had commit-

ted adultery. He was summoned to appear on a certain day ; but, not coming, was banished for ever ; his houses were demolished, and his goods confiscated. About the same time the castle of Edinburgh was restored to the Scots, one of the pensions having been paid ; and to make the concord between both kings more firm, a law was passed, " That neither king should harbour the other's enemy." Upon this law Gilchrist, who lived banished in England, was forced to return, and shifting from place to place, as a stranger amongst strangers, and unknown, he passed his miserable life in great penury and want. In the interim, William prepared for an expedition into Murray, to suppress the thieves of the *Æbudæ*, whose captain was Donald Bane, *i. e.* the White, who derived his pedigree from the kings, and had also assumed the name of king. He made his descent from his ships in many places, and spoiled not only the maritime parts, but, his boldness increasing, by reason of impunity, those places also which were very remote from the sea. The king sent out ships to sail about and burn his fleet, whilst he with a land-army attacked them ; and so doing, he put them almost all to the sword. In his return, as he was near Perth, he found three countrymen, which yet seemed to be more than so, had it not been for their shabby and uncouth habit, who looked as if they had a mind to avoid meeting any company ; but the king caused them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earnest to know what manner of creatures they were. Gilchrist, being the elder of them, fell down at the king's feet, and making a miserable complaint of his misfortunes, tells who he was ; upon which the memory of his former life, which he had passed with so much splendour, did so passionately affect all that were present, that they could not chuse but fall a weeping ; whereupon the king commanded him to rise

from the ground, and restored him to his former dignity, and the same degree of favour he had before.

These things fell out about the year 1190; at which time Richard, who, the year before, had succeeded Henry his father in the throne of England, prepared for an expedition into Syria. He restored the castles to the king of Scots, and sent back the hostages, freeing him and his posterity from all covenants, either extorted by force, or obtained by fraud, made by the English; and suffered him to enjoy the realm of Scotland by the same right, and within the same limits, as Malcolm, or any former kings had held it. Matthew Paris makes mention of these conditions. William, on the other side, that he might not be ungrateful to Richard, upon his going to war into a strange country, gave him 10,000 merks of silver, and commanded David his brother, who was declared Earl of Huntingdon, to follow him into Syria. This David, in his return from thence, had his navy scattered by a tempest, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and redeemed by the Venetians; and at last, being known at Constantinople by an English merchant, after four years time he returned into Scotland, and was received with the general gratulation of all men, especially of his brother. Boetius thinks that the town where this David was landed in safety, before named Alec-tum, was now called Deidonum; but because the name of Alec-tum is found in no author but only in Hector Boetius, I rather think it was called Taodunum, a word compounded of Tay and Dun, *i. e.* Dun-dee.

Not long after, Richard, after many hazards and misfortunes, returned also from the same voyage. William and his brother came to congratulate him upon his return, and gave him 2000 merks of silver, as a largess, being moved thereunto either out of remembrance of his former bounty to him, or on the consideration of his present want. Neither were

ever the Scots and English more gracious to each other than at that time, as many judge. There William fell very sick ; and a rumour of his death being noised abroad, caused new combustions in Scotland. Harald, Earl of the Orcades, and of Caithness, hated the bishop of Caithness, because (as he alleged) he was the obstacle that he could not obtain what he desired of the king ; and therefore he took him prisoner, cut out his tongue, and also put out his eyes. The king returning home overthrew Harald in several skirmishes, and destroyed most of his forces. Harald himself was taken in his flight, and brought back to the king ; who, when his eyes also were first put out, by way of retaliation, was afterwards hanged ; his whole male stock were gelded ; the rest of his kin, and companions of his wickedness were deeply fined. These things are thus related by Hector Boetius, and common report confirms them ; yea, the hill receiving its name from testicles, gives credit to the relation, so that it seems truer than what others write in this matter. These things happened in the year of our salvation 1199, in which year the king had a son, named Alexander, born to him ; and Richard of England dying, his brother John succeeded him.

Hereupon the king of Scots went into England, to take his oath to him for the lands which he held in England ; and in the beginning of John's new reign his coming was not more acceptable than his departure displeasing ; because he refused to follow John in his expedition into France, against Philip his old friend. So that, as soon as John returned out of France, he sought occasion for a war with the Scots, and began to build a fort over-against Berwick. William having in vain complained of the injury, by his ambassadors, gathered a company together, and demolished as much as was built of it. Upon which, armies were levied on both sides ; but when their camps were near one

another, peace was made by the intervention of the nobles, on these terms, "That William's two daughters should be given in marriage to John's two sons, as soon as ever they were marriageable." A great dowry was promised, and caution made, that no fort should be built, and hostages also were given in the case. William, at his return, fell into an unexpected danger; the greatest part of the town of Berth was swept away in the night, by an inundation of the river Tay; neither was the king's palace exempted from the calamity; but his son, an infant, with his nurse, and fourteen more, were drowned, the rest hardly escaping; many also of the promiscuous multitude lost their lives. The king perceiving that the water had overwhelmed the greatest part of the ground on which the city stood, and that almost every house in the town had suffered by it, caused a new city to be built a little below, in a more commodious place, on the same river; and making some small variation of the name, called it Perth, in memory, as some say, of one Perth, a nobleman, who gave the king the land on which the city was built. About the same time, the king took Gothred Mackul, captain of the rebels in the north, who was betrayed to him by his own men. When he was prisoner, he constantly abstained from all food, to prevent as it is thought, a more heavy punishment. This was, in a manner, the last, memorable fact of William's, which yet, in regard of his unwieldy age, was acted by his captains; for he died soon after, in the 74th year of his age, and 49th year of his reign, (*A. D.* 1214.)

Not long before his death, leagues were renewed with John king of England, almost every year; for, he being a man desirous of enlarging his dominions, though he had war with the French abroad, with the Romanists at home, and moreover, was never on sure terms of peace with the Irish or Welch;

yet did not break off his inclination to invade Scotland, which had then an old man for their king, and the next heir to him a child. Frequent conferences happened to him on this occasion, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good issue; at length the matter broke out into open suspicion; and after many leagues made between them, at last William was called to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous disease, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little time before his death he was invited to Norham on the Tweed; and when his sickness would not permit him to go, his son was desired to come in his stead, which yet, by the advice of the council, was refused: the leagues established in those interviews, I shall not particularly mention, for they almost all contain the same things, having in them nothing new, save that in one of them, it was articulated, that not the Scottish kings, but only their children, should swear, or be feudatories to the kings of England, for the English lands they held. The mention of these things is wholly omitted by the English writers, I believe for this very cause.

ALEXANDER II. *the Ninety-fourth King.*

William was succeeded by Alexander, his son, begot on Emergard, who was kinswoman to the king of England and daughter to the Earl of Beaumont. He was but sixteen years of age when he began to reign. Entering upon the government in troublesome times, he composed and settled things more prudently than could be expected from one of his years. First of all, he called a public convention of the estates, and there, by a decree, he confirmed all the acts of his father, that good and prudent prince. His first expedition was into England, not out of any private ambition, but to bridle the tyranny of

John ; and it was then said, that he was invited by the ecclesiastics of that kingdom. Having laid siege to Norham, he left it upon certain conditions, and penetrating farther into the kingdom, he carried it very severely against all the royalists. Upon his return home, John invaded Scotland quickly after : he made a mighty devastation in Dunbar, Haddington, and all the neighbouring parts of Lothian ; and to spread the war and ruin farther, he determined to return another way. Alexander being very desirous to decide it by a battle, pitched his tents between Pentland hills and the river Esk, which way, as it was reported, John would return ; but he, to avoid fighting, marched along by the sea-coast, and burnt the monastery of Coldingham : he also took and burnt Berwick, which was then but meanly fortified. As he thus marched hastily back, Alexander followed him as fast as he could, and making great havock all over Northumberland, came as far as Richmond : But John, by speedy marches, having retreated into the heart of England, Alexander returned by Westmoreland, and laid all waste to the very gates of Carlisle ; the city itself he took by force, and fortified it. The next year, Lewis, the son of Philip king of France, was sent for by those who favoured the ecclesiastical faction, to London ; that so he, upon the deposition of John, might possess the kingdom. At the same time, Alexander likewise came thither to aid his old friend ; but John being deserted by his subjects, and invaded by foreign arms, upon the payment of a great sum of money at present, and the promise of a perpetual pension ; and moreover, transferring the right of the kingdom of England to the Pope, so that the kings of England, for the future, were to be his feudatories, was received into favour : hereupon he obtained letters from Rome by Cardinal Galo, a man of known avarice, wherein the Scots and French were, with great threats forbid to

meddle with a people who were tributaries to the holy see.

Upon this sudden change of things, Lewis returned into France, and Alexander into Scotland; but his return home was not so quiet as his entrance into England: for the English pressing upon the rear of his retiring army, took many of the stragglers prisoners; and besides, John had destroyed all the bridges on the Trent, and had fastened sharp pikes or palisadoes in all its fords, removing away all ships and boats; which seemed such obstacles to his retreat, as must needs end in his destruction. In the mean time John was poisoned by an English monk at Newark, a town seated on the Trent, and being carried on a litter, died in two days. That casualty opened the way for Alexander's march; then blaming and punishing his men for their former carelessness, he marched on more circumspectly, but not without the great damage of those through whose countries he passed; for whatsoever could be driven away, or carried, he took with him, and so returned home with a great booty. Galo, the Pope's legate, when he had settled Henry, the son of John, in the throne, fined the nobles of England in a great sum of money, and then received them into favour. And to give them some recompence for their loss, by the like calamity of their enemies, he excommunicated Lewis of France, and Alexander of Scotland, in hopes to obtain some booty from them into the bargain. The Scots were interdicted all divine offices; for he imagined that his thundering anathemas would prevail more amongst the simple vulgar than with the kings: but at last peace was made between the two monarchs; the Scots were to restore Carlisle, and the English Berwick; and the ancient bounds at King's-cross were to be observed by them both. Alexander and his subjects were released from their censures by the English bishops, who were authorised for that pur-

pose. Galo was much enraged that so great a prey should be taken out of his hands, so that he turned his anger on the bishops, and the rest of the clergy of Scotland, as his own peculiar, with whom kings had nothing to do. He summoned them to appear at Alnwick, whither, when they came, the more fearful appeased his wrath with money, the more resolute were cited to Rome. But they, having also received many letters from some of the English bishops and abbots, directed to the Pope, concerning the sordid spirit of the legate, made grievous complaints against him, calling him the fire-brand of all mischief, because he studied not the public good, but his own avarice, and did chaffer for and sell peace and war amongst princes at his own pleasure. Galo not being able to acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge, was fined by the Pope in the loss of the money he had got, which was to be divided amongst his accusers, who upon this returned home with a whole load of large promises, but with empty purses. A few years after, Henry of England, being now grown ripe, both in years and judgment, came to York: there he agreed with Alexander, in the presence of Pandulphus, the Pope's legate, to take Joan, Henry's sister, to wife; by whom, because of her untimely death, he had no children.

From that time there was peace between both kings as long as they lived; there Henry also solemnly promised, and swore before the same Pandulphus, that he would bestow the two sisters of Alexander in honourable marriages, according to their dignity, as his father had promised before; but one of them returned home unmarried, one only being bestowed in marriage. The next year, viz. 1220, Cardinal Giles came into England to fish for money for the holy war; and accordingly, having scraped together a great sum in both kingdoms, which by his impostures, he had gulled persons of

that were too credulous, he luxuriously spent it in his journey ; so that he came empty to Rome, falsely alleging that he was robbed by thieves in the way. Another legate presently succeeded him ; but men, having been twice cheated by Italian fraud, forbade him, in a public decree, to set his foot upon English ground. Alexander was busied to suppress vices at home, which sprung up by the licentiousness of war, and he travelled over the whole kingdom with his queen, to do justice ; whilst Gillespie, a Rossian, spoiled Ross, and the neighbouring countries ; for, passing over the river Ness, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, and cruelly slew all those that refused to swear obedience to him. John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, was sent against him, who took him and his two sons as they were shifting up and down, and changing their quarters to secure themselves ; he cut off their heads, and sent them for a token to the King. About this time the Caithnians entered by night into the bed-chamber of Adam, their bishop, and there killed a monk, who was his usual companion, (for he had been before abbot of Melrose), and one of his bed-chamber ; as for the bishop himself, they grievously wounded him ; and dragging him into the kitchen, there they burnt him, and the house he was in. The cause of their great cruelty was, as it is reported, because the bishop was more severe than usual in exacting his tithes. The offenders were diligently sought out, and most severely punished. The Earl of Caithness, though he was not present at the fact, yet was somewhat suspected ; but afterwards being brought privately to the king on the Christmas holidays, which are the Scots Saturnalia, he humbly begged his pardon, and obtained it.

About this time Alan of Galloway, the most powerful man in Scotland, departed this life. He left three daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Thomas, his bastard son, despising their

age and sex, set up for himself as lord of the family: and not contented with that, he gathers 10,000 men together, kills all that oppose him, and drives booties far and near from all the neighbouring countries. At last the king sent an army against him, who slew 5000 of the rebels, with their general. The same year Alexander, with his wife, went for England to allay the tumults as much as he could, raised against Henry, and to reconcile him to the nobility. Whilst he was busy about this at York, his wife went with the queen of England a pilgrimage to Canterbury; but at her return she fell sick, died, and was buried at London. Not long after her death, the king being childless, married Mary, the daughter of Ingelram, Earl of Couci, in France, in the year of Christ 1239; by whom he had Alexander, who succeeded his father in the throne. Two years after, viz. in 1241, whilst the king was hastening to England, to visit that king, newly returned from France, and refreshed himself a while in Haddington with horse-races, the lodging or inn of Patrick of Galloway, Earl of Athol, was set on fire, where Patrick and two of his servants were burnt, the fire spreading itself a great way farther. It was not thought to have casually happened, because of the noted feuds between Patrick and the family of the Bissets. And though William, the chief of that family, was at Forfar, above sixty miles from Haddington, the same night that the fire happened, as the queen could testify in his behalf; yet, because the adverse party, the kindred of Patrick, pleaded that many of his tenants and servants were seen at Haddington at that time, William was summoned to appear. He came to Edinburgh at the day prefixed; but not daring to stand to his trial, because of the power of his adversaries, which were the Cumins, he would have tried the matter in a duel; but that being not accepted, he and some of his friends banished themselves into Ireland, where

he left a noble family of his name and house. There was also another seditious tumult in Argyle, raised by Somerled, son of the former Somerled; but he being conquered in a few days by Patrick Dunbar, and submitting to the king's mercy, obtained pardon for all his past offences. The king, not long after, fell sick, and died in the fifty-first year of his age, the thirty-fifth of his reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. *the Ninety-fifth King.*

Alexander the III. his son, was crowned king at Scone the same year, a child not past eight years old. The power of all things was mostly in the faction of the Cumins; for they turned the public revenue to the enrichment of themselves, oppressed the poor, and by false accusations cut off some of the nobles who were averse to their humours and desires, and dared to speak freely of the state of the king; and being condemned, their goods were confiscated, and brought into the king's exchequer; from whence they (who rather commanded than obeyed the king) received them back again for their private emolument. A convention of the estates being held, the chief matter in agitation was to keep peace with the king of England, least, in such a troublesome time, he should make any attempt upon them; and to do it more easily, an affinity was proposed. This way seemed more commodious to the Anti-Cuminian party to undermine their power, than openly to oppugn it. Accordingly, ambassadors were sent to England, who were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by that king, who granted them all their desires. The next year, which was 1251, both kings met at York on the 24th of November. There, on Christmas day, Alexander was made knight by the king of England; and, the day after, the match was concluded betwixt him and

Margaret, Henry's daughter. A peace was also renewed betwixt them, which, as long as Henry lived, was inviolably observed. And because Alexander was yet but a child, and under age, it was decreed by the advice of his friends, "that he should consult his father-in-law, as a guardian, in all matters of weight." Some of the prime men being accused, by virtue of this decree, secretly withdrew themselves. When the king returned home, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom, was accused, because he had legitimated the wife of Alan Durward, who was but the natural or base-born daughter of Alexander II.; that so, if the king died without issue, she might come in as heiress: upon this fear the chancellor, as soon as ever he returned home, surrendered up the seal to the nobles. Gamelin, afterwards archbishop of St Andrew's, succeeded him in his office.

The three next years, they who were the king's council, did, almost every one of them, carry themselves as kings; whatever they caught was their own; so that the poor commonalty was left destitute and miserably oppressed. The king of England being made acquainted with it, out of his paternal affection to his son-in-law, came to Wark castle, situated on the borders of Scotland, and sent for his son-in-law Alexander and his nobles thither. There, by his advice, many advantageous alterations were made, especially of those magistrates by whose defaults insurrections had been caused at home, and also many profitable statutes were enacted for the future. The king returned to Scotland with his wife, and having an English guard to convey him home, he resolved to reside in the castle of Edinburgh. Walter Cumin, Earl of Monteith, kept the castle, who was disaffected because of the change of the public state, made by the king of England; yet he was compelled to surrender it by Patrick Dunbar, with the assistance of the English

forces. The greatest part of the nobility and of the ecclesiastics were offended, in regard their power was somewhat abridged by those new statutes, which they looked upon as a yoke imposed upon them by the English, and a beginning of their servitude: nay, they proceeded to that height of contumacy, that being summoned to give a legal account of their affairs in former times, they made light of the summons. The same persons, who were the principal actors in disturbing things before, were now the chief encouragers to disobedience. They were generally the clans of the Cumins, Walter Earl of Monteith, Alexander Earl of Buchan, John Earl of Athol, William Earl of Mar, and other considerable men of the same faction. They did not dare to put their cause on a legal trial, as being conscious to themselves of the many wrongs done to the poor and meaner sort, nay, to the king himself; and therefore they resolved to outface justice by their impudence and audacity; for, being informed that the king was but lightly guarded, and lived securely in Kinross, as in a time of peace, they immediately gathered a band of their vassals about them, seized him as he was asleep, and carried him to Stirling; and as if there had been no force in the case, but they had been rightfully elected, they discharged and expelled his old servants, took new, and managed all things at their own will and pleasure; so that now the terror and consternation was turned upon the former counsellors.

But this sedition was allayed by the death of Walter Cumin, who was poisoned, as it is thought, by his wife, an English woman; the suspicion of its being done by her was increased, because, though she was courted by many noblemen, yet she married John Russel, her gallant, a young English spark: she was accused of poisoning, and thrown into prison, but she bought her liberty. Russel and his wife obtained letters from the Pope, permitting them

to commence an action of the case against their adversaries, for the wrong done them, before the Pope's legate ; but it was to no purpose, because the Scots urged an ancient privilege, exempting them from going out of the kingdom when they were to plead their causes.

When the king was of age, upon the humble petition of the Cumins, he pardoned them, as if all their offences had been expiated by the death of Walter. He was induced so to do, as some say, by reason of the greatness of their family ; and also, because he was apprehensive of foreign wars, when matters lay so unsettled at home ; but that war began not so soon as men thought it would.

In the year of Christ 1263, on the first of August, Acho king of Norway, with a fleet of 160 sail, came to Ayr, a maritime town of Coil, where he landed 20,000 men. The cause of the war, as he pretended, was, that some islands which were promised to his ancestors by Donald Bane, were not yet put into his hands, viz. Bute, Arran, and both the Cumbraes, which were never reckoned amongst the *Æbudæ* ; but it was enough for him, who sought a pretence for a war, that they were islands. Acho took two of the greatest of them, and reduced their castles before he met with any opposition. Being puffed up with this success, he makes a descent into Cunningham, the next continent overagainst Bute, in that part of it which they call the Largs. There he met with two misfortunes almost at one and the same time : one was, that he was overcome in fight by Alexander Stuart, the great-grandfather of him who first of that name was king of Scotland ; and being almost taken by the multitude of his enemies, he hardly escaped, in great fear, to his ships. The other was, that his ships being tossed in a mighty tempest, could hardly carry him, with a few of his followers who escaped, into the Orcades. There were slain in that battle sixteen thousand of the

Norwegians, and five thousand of the Scots : some writers say, that King Alexander himself was in this fight ; yet they also make honourable mention of the name of this Alexander Stuart. Acho died of grief for the loss of his army, and of his kinsman, a valiant youth, whose name is not mentioned by writers.

His son Magnus, who was lately come to him, perceiving things in a more desperate posture than he ever thought they would be brought to ; especially having no hopes of recruits from home before the spring, and also finding the minds of the islanders alienated from him, and that he was forsaken by the Scots too, in confidence of whose aid his father had undertaken that war ; these things considered, he easily inclined to terms of peace : the spirit of the young man was depressed both by the unlucky fight, and also by his fear of the islanders ; for Alexander, by sending about some ships, had then recovered the isle of Man, situated almost in the midst between Scotland and Ireland, upon these conditions, That the king of it should send in ten galleys to the Scots as often as there was occasion ; and that the Scots should defend him from a foreign enemy. When Magnus saw that the rest of the islands inclined to follow the example of the Manks-men, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace, which Alexander refused to make, unless the Æbudæ were restored : At last, by the diligence of the commissioners, it was agreed that the Scots should have the Æbudæ ; for which at present they were to pay 4000 merks of silver, and 100 merks a year. And moreover, that Margaret, Alexander's daughter, being then but four years old, should marry Hanganan, the son of Magnus, as soon as she was fit for marriage.

About this time the king of England being infested with civil war, had five thousand Scots sent him to his assistance, under the command of Ro.

bert Bruce and Alexander Cumin, whom the English writers call John; the greatest part of them were slain in fight, and Cumin, with the English king himself, and his son, and a great part of the English nobility of the king's party, were taken prisoners.

Moreover, the Scots king was much troubled at the arrogance of the priests and monks in his kingdom; who, being enriched by former kings, began to grow wanton in a continued peace; nay, they endeavoured to be equal, if not superior to the nobility, whom they excelled in wealth. The young nobility repining at it, and taking it in great disgust, used them pretty roughly; complaints were made by them to the king, who imagining either that their wrongs were not so great as they represented them, or else, that they suffered them deservedly, neglected their pretended grievances; what do they do next truly, but excommunicate every soul except the king, and in great wrath determined to go to Rome? But the king remembering what great commotions Thomas Becket, the prime promoter of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately made in England, called them back from their journey, and caused the nobility to satisfy not only their avarice, but even their arrogance too. And indeed they were the more inclinable to an accord with the king, because he had lately undertaken the patronage of the ecclesiastical orders against the avarice of the Romanists; for a little before, Otobon, the Pope's legate, was come into England to appease the civil discords; but not being able to effect the thing he came for, he omitted the public care, and studied his own private gain and lucre; he called an ecclesiastical assembly of the English, procurators from Scotland being also summoned to it. In the mean time, he endeavoured to exact four merks of silver from every parish in Scotland, and six from all cathedrals, by way of procuration

money. This contribution, or tax, was scarce refused, when news were brought that another legate was arrived in England, intending also for Scotland, on pretence to collect money for the holy war; and besides that procurable by indulgences, and other lime-twigs to catch money, he endeavoured to wrest from all bishops, abbots, and parish priests, as judging them to be immediately under papal jurisdiction, the tenth part of their yearly revenues; that so Edward and Edmund, sons to the king of England, might go more nobly and numerously attended to the war in Syria. The Scots judged this tax to be very grievous and unjust, especially because the English seemed to be so forward to have it granted, as if Scotland were not *sui juris*, or an absolute kingdom, but dependent on England. Moreover, they were afraid lest the legate should riotously mispend the money designed for the war, as was done some years before. Upon these they forbade him to enter their borders, but sent him word that they themselves, without his presence, would gather money for, and send soldiers to the Syrian war; and indeed they sent soldiers, under the command of the Earls of Carrick and Athol, two of the chief nobility, to Lewis King of France; and to the Pope, lest he might think himself altogether disesteemed, they sent 1000 merks of silver.

The year after Henry King of England died, and his son Edward I. succeeded him, at whose coronation Alexander and his wife were present; she returning, died soon after; nay, David the king's son, and also Alexander, being newly married to the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, followed her a little time after, and made a continuation of mourning and funerals; Margaret also, the king's daughter, departed this life, who left a daughter behind her, that she had by Hangananus king of Norway. Alexander being thus, in a few years, deprived both of his wife and children, took to wife Joleta, the

daughter of the Count de Dreux ; and within a year he fell from his horse, and broke his neck, not far from Kinghorn, in the year of our Lord 1285, on the nineteenth of March : he lived forty-five years, and reigned thirty-seven.

He was more missed than any king of Scotland had been before him ; not so much for the eminent virtues of his mind, and the accomplishments of his body, as the people foresaw what great calamities would befall the kingdom upon his decease. Those wholesome laws which he made are grown obsolete and out of use, through the negligence of men, and the length of time ; and their utility is rather celebrated by report, than felt by trial and experience. He divided the kingdom into four parts, and almost every year he travelled them all over, staying about three months in each of them, to do justice, and to hear the complaints of the poor, who had free access to him during that whole time. Whenever he went to an assize or sessions, he commanded the prefect or sheriff of that precinct, to meet him with a select number of men, and to accompany him at his departure to the bounds of his jurisdiction, where he was received by the next sheriff. By this means he got a thorough knowledge of all the nobility, and was himself as well known to them ; and the people, as he went, were not burdened with a troop of courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to play the game of avarice wheresoever they come. He commanded the magistrates to punish all idle persons who followed no trade, nor had any estates to maintain them ; for his opinion was, “ That idleness was the source and fountain of all wickedness.” He reduced the train of horsemen that attended the nobles when they travelled, to a certain number ; because he thought that the multitude of horses which were unfit for war, would spend too much provision ; and, whereas, by reason of unskilfulness in navigation, or else

by men's avarice, in venturing out rashly to sea, many shipwrecks had happened; and the violence of pirates making an addition to the misfortunes, the company of merchants were almost undone, he commanded they should traffic no more by sea. That order lasted about a year; but being complained of by many as a public prejudice, at length so great a quantity of foreign commodities was imported, that they were never cheaper in Scotland within the memory of man. In this case, that he might consult the good of the merchants company, he forbade that any but merchants should buy of foreigners what they imported by wholesale; but what every man wanted, he was to buy it of the merchant at second hand, or by retail.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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